

AN
INQUIRY,
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,
INTO THE
EVIDENCE
AGAINST
MARY Queen of *SCOTS*;

AND
AN EXAMINATION of the HISTORIES of Dr. ROBERTSON
and Mr. HUME, with respect to that EVIDENCE.

By WILLIAM TYTLER, Esq. ✕
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and F. R. S. Edinburgh.

*When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am, nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice.—*

SHAKESP.

THE FOURTH EDITION,
Containing several additional Chapters, and an Introduction,
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND; AND
W. CREECH, EDINBURGH.

MDCCXC.



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A N
I N Q U I R Y
INTO THE EVIDENCE AGAINST
MARY Queen of *SCOTS*.

P A R T II.

C H A P. III.

*Conspiracy for restoring Murray.——Assas-
sination of David Rizzio.——Falsehood of
Buchanan.——Confederacy at the Castle
of Craigmillar.——Examination of the
Queen's Conduct.*

MALUM minatum et damnum secutum,
say the lawyers, is a most certain
presumption of guilt, which nothing but the
most positive evidence of the contrary can
remove. Of the *malum minatum* by Murray

to the Lord Darnley, carried even so far into execution, it is impossible to produce a more clear proof than by the preceding testimonies ; nor was the actual murder of that prince so very remote from this period, as in the least to weaken that presumption. Murray's rebellion and banishment was in *October* 1565 ; and Darnley's murder happened in the beginning of the year 1567, 10th *February* ; that is, scarce sixteen months distant, and within less than eleven months after Murray was recalled from his banishment.

We have shewn the traces and steps of this confederacy of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, as early as from the Queen's return from France to her kingdom of Scotland : and we have also seen, from Randolph's letter, that although Morton did not openly join Murray in his rebellion, yet he was strongly suspected by the Queen at that time. The plan of these consum-

consummate politicians was not so shallow, as openly to embark altogether, to risk their whole stock in one bottom: one adventure might fail, but so long as they kept a reserve at home, affairs might be retrieved, and their unwearied attempts be at last crowned with success. Hitherto the traces of this confederacy appear only faint; we shall see gradually, as we advance, the light break in; by the aid of which we shall endeavour, step by step, to follow them into their dark retreat.

In the beginning of April 1566, the parliament was to have met; to which the Earl of Murray and his accomplices were summoned to appear, in order to their attainer, on account of their rebellion. To prevent this blow, and likewise to follow out the main scheme, a new plot is devised by their friends, Morton and Lethington.

The Queen was, at this time, above six months advanced in her pregnancy; when, on the evening of the 9th of March, as she sat at supper in her own private apartment, in the palace of Holyrood-house, in the presence of the King, and the Countess of Argyll; her secretary David Rizzio, and two or three domestics in waiting; the Earl of Morton, the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, at the head of 500 men, in complete armour, of a sudden make themselves masters of the palace, while Ruthven, at the head of a few ruffians, with their daggers drawn, rush into the room, overturn the table at which the Queen sat, and stab to the heart Rizzio, who had taken refuge at her feet; then dragging the shrieking wretch to the door, they lay him dead with numberless wounds *. After this they return

* Buchanan is the only cotemporary author who has ventured to commit to writing the scandalous tale of an amour between the Queen and Rizzio; which, when examined

turn to the Queen, almost dead, as may be well imagined, with fear, threaten her with instant death, and upbraid her in the most

examined into, hath not the shadow of truth, or even probability, to support it. Yet such is the malignity of party-prejudice, that with many this story passes current. Had there been the least ground for such calumny, we are pretty certain, that the Queen's accusers, Murray and Morton, would not have omitted so important an article in the black accusation which they afterwards published against her; and, what seems pretty remarkable, even Buchanan, in his libel called the *Detection*, has not the smallest insinuation of any such amour. Whence then could this strange calumny take its rise? Let us examine this matter a little. Upon the departure of Raulet, the Queen's secretary for foreign letters, this man Rizzio, who appears to have been a man of parts, was promoted to his place; *hoc pretextu*, says Buchanan, *secretius & seorsum a vulgo agere cum Regina posset*: and upon this ground has Buchanan raised his notable story of the Queen's amour.

The time of Rizzio's coming into favour with the Queen, is by all our historians agreed, and even by Buchanan himself, to have been while her marriage with Lord Darnley was in agitation: when her

most shocking terms with mal-administration by Rizzio's counsel, encouraging Papists, and banishing Murray and the other Lords, whom,

passion for that young nobleman, remarkably handsome, and in the bloom of youth, was very great. Yet this very time, and the period soon after her marriage, has Buchanan fixed upon for her amour with Rizzio: And what is curious in this story, this rival of Lord Darnley, this paramour of the beautiful Queen Mary, for whom monarchs contended, is by Buchanan too described as a monster of ugliness: *Regina, cum naturæ vitia non posset emendare, divitiis & honoribus cumulandis corporis vitia fortuitæ claritatis obtentu tegat. Again, Res indignior videbatur, quod non faciem cultus honestabat, sed facies cultum destruebat.*

Mr. Hume inclines to think the story of Rizzio improbable. Rizzio, he admits, was ugly; but, on Buchanan's authority, he adds, shrewdly, "he was not past his youth."

Blackwood, however, Buchanan's cotemporary, and author of better credit, who knew Rizzio well, expressly says he was old; *David Rizzio homme assez âgé, laid, morne, & malplaisant*, p. 74.

I shall add the testimony of another author, who knew Rizzio well, Monf. L. Guyon: "Etant en
"Ecosse, j'ai bien connu D. Rizzio, duquel j'ai receu
"bien

whom, they tell her, she should see in her presence the next day; and they conclude

“ bien de courtesies à la cour. Il étoit assez agé et
“ laid.” — Leçons diverses de Louis Guyon. —
L. Elibank's Letter to L. Hailes, on his Remarks on
the History of Scotland, p. 51.

Dr. Robertson, vol. i. p. 305. in his account of the affair of Rizzio, has sufficiently proved the absurdity and falsehood of Buchanan. The Doctor concludes with this remark: “ The silence of Randolph, the
“ English resident, a man abundantly ready to aggrava-
“ vate Mary's faults, and who does not once insi-
“ nuate, that her confidence in Rizzio concealed any
“ thing criminal, is in itself a sufficient vindication of
“ her innocence.” We shall show the justice of the Doctor's observation on Randolph's character, by a passage from one of his own letters to Cecil, of the 31st of July 1565, which shews to a demonstration, the black disposition of the Queen's enemies to calumniate her upon every occasion, without regard to the smallest probability. All our historians, Buchanan excepted, extol Mary's character and conduct, from her coming to Scotland until long after the affair of Rizzio; and as to her marriage with Darnley, none of them have ventured to insinuate any thing to her prejudice: and yet this man Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's spy (under the character of her resident) on the
B 4 actions

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clude the triumph by a cruel stab, *That the King himself was associated with them in the conspiracy!*

Accord-

actions of Mary, who secretly cherished the malecontents at court, has dared to retail a still more improbable piece of scandal against the Queen, and which he himself does not seem to believe. After reciting to the Earl of Leicester the ceremony of the Queen's marriage with Darnley, Randolph thus writes: "The Queen, after changing her garments, went not to bed; to signify, that it was not lust that moved her to marry, but the necessity of her country, not to leave it destitute of an heir. *Suspicious men, or such as are given of all things to make the worst, would that it should be believed, that they knew each other before they came there.* I would not that your Lordship should so believe it, the likelihoods are so great to the contrary." *Robertson, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 26.* If Randolph did not himself believe this, how durst he venture to commit to writing so false and scandalous a story? Impartial men, from this specimen, may judge with what sort of persons this unfortunate princess was beset, and in what light all her actions were exposed by a set of men then in her very court.

From the letters of Randolph to Cecil, he appears to have been a low man, cunning, needy, and unprincipled:

Accordingly, the next day, a proclamation is issued, in the King's name only, ordering the peers and other members that were to have met in parliament, to retire to

principled : a sycophant, and creature of Cecil. He mixed with the Queen's rebel subjects, in all their consultations and conspiracies during her reign, as we shall afterwards see.

It may not be improper here to give a convincing proof of what little credit is to be given to George Buchanan's history of this princess. The above story of her amour with Rizzio, as most of his stories do, rests entirely upon his own single assertion. However, to gain credit to these, he has, in some few instances, ventured to make an appeal to writings in the public archives. This was certainly specious, and in those dark and busy times must have carried conviction with it, especially to foreigners, who had no access to canvass his authorities. Of this the following is a specimen.

In his *Detection*, p. 3. *folio edition*, he tells us, That the Earl of Bothwell was sent for at midnight, and taken forcibly from his wife's arms, and brought to the Queen's bed ; and as his authority or proof for so bold a story, he adds, " The manner and circum-

" stances

to their homes: and that very evening Murray, and the other exiles in England, knew so well what was done in Edinburgh, that they appeared there within twenty-four

“stances of this deed, not only the most part of those
 “that then were with the Queen have confessed, but
 “also George Dalglish, Bothwell’s chamberlain, a
 “little before he was executed, declared the same:
 “which confession yet remains on record.” *Et Georgius Dalglesius, Bothuelii cubicularius, paulo antequam pœnas luit, denarravit: quæ ejus confessio in actis continetur.*

Now, could any man of candour, upon such authority as the confession of an eye-witness, appealed to as remaining in the public records, call in question the truth of the above fact? Yet these being examined, particularly George Dalglish’s confession, as produced by the Earl of Murray, and still on record, from beginning to end, there is not one single word respecting the above story, nor aspersing the Queen in any degree.

We might likewise add the same of certain confessions of Bothwell’s other servants, which Buchanan has cooked up, and ventured to publish at the end of his *Detection*, which contain some gross reflections against the Queen. These being compared with the
 authentic

four hours of Rizzio's affassination. We have preserved to us, in the Cotton Library, (*Calig. book 9.*) the articles agreed on between Lord Darnley on his part, and the Earl of Murray and the banished Lords on their part, relating to this affair; their being recalled from exile, and their assisting him in getting possession of the crown for life *. From this we have a proof of

* Vide the articles at length, Goodall, vol. i. p. 227.

authentic confessions attested by Sir John Ballenden, Justice Clerk, and given in to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Murray himself, are found to be quite different, these last containing no such reflections as Buchanan's. *Goodall, Pref. p. 15. and vol. i. p. 325.*

After this, we need not wonder that Thuanus †, and other foreign writers, have been misled, taking their informations from Buchanan, who rests his credit upon such grave authority as a solemn appeal to writings asserted by him to be on record, which in fact never existed, and produces, as testimonies, writings, which, from the originals remaining at this day in the public archives, are detected as spurious and false.

† No wonder foreigners have been imposed on. The accurate and industrious Carte has been misled by Buchanan's spurious confessions, taking them for genuine.

Murray and Morton joining hand in hand in this conspiracy. Let us now see if we can trace their friend Lethington's steps in it. Calderwood, a contemporary author, thus writes: "Secretary Lethington retained the Earl of Athol with himself, within his lodging: for Lethington was privy to the plot, and supped that night with the Earl; partly on purpose to withhold him from offering, or to save him from suffering any violence; and that he himself might not be suspected by the Queen, having the Earl of Athol for a witness of his behaviour *."

This is sufficient to shew, that the triumvirate were all joined in concert in this conspiracy, and acted still on their old plan, of not appearing all of them openly, so as, in case of a failure of their plot, one or other of them, by keeping out of the affair, might be able, by his intrigue,

* Calderwood's MS. Goodall, vol. i. p. 269.

and maintaining his influence at court, to restore his brethren in disgrace.

A very little reflection is sufficient to make one see, with amazement, the depth and prodigious extent of this well-concerted plot, which had the greatest probability of terminating in the death and destruction of the Queen, her offspring, and of her husband himself, whose weakness and brutality could lead him to join with the Queen's and his own worst enemies in so horrid a conspiracy.

The death of Rizzio was surely the least view of the conspirators. Had that been their sole aim, a hundred ways occurred to have dispatched him quietly out of sight: but that could have had no consequence*.

* John Knox's reflection concerning Rizzio, and his assassination, is curious.—“Of his (Rizzio's) beginning and progress,” says he, “we delay now further to speak; because his *end* will require the description of the whole, and refers it unto such as “God shall raise up to do the same.”

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In the plan they pursued, how big a scene for expectation appeared! A band of armed ruffians, with their daggers brandished, to rush of a sudden into the presence of a woman six months gone with child, to overturn the table at which she sat, and to stab a man hanging by her knees! From this scene of brutal outrage, of blood, and horror, was it natural to expect less than the Queen's abortion? Might they not expect her death? And, in any event, was not this an infallible means of bringing on an immediate rupture between the Queen and her husband*? In this last view the scheme succeeded: it was impossible for the Queen, or indeed any woman, not to shew resentment against a husband, who could join in so horrid, so unnatural a conspiracy, against her life, and that of his own offspring. This resentment subsided into deep

* The two Historians so often quoted see none of these consequences; which is surprising, as want of reflection cannot be imputed to them.

melancholy. "She was sad and penfive," says Sir James Melville, "for the late foul act committed in her presence, being thereby in hazard of losing the fruit of her womb. So many sighs she would give, that it was pity to hear her, and there were few to comfort her." From this time the Queen's affection, which, before this, was unbounded towards her husband, seems to have cooled; and as he, on his part, took no manner of concern to be reconciled to her, his shocking behaviour, and dissolute life, widened the breach. He took a resolution to leave the kingdom to go into foreign parts; which the Queen, still from tenderness, and to prevent his exposing himself, with much persuasion, got him dissuaded from.

Although the assassination of Rizzio, in which Morton appeared openly to be the ringleader, had so far succeeded as to bring home his friend the Earl of Murray from banish-

banishment; whom the Queen, his sister, in her distressful circumstances, was so gracious as to pardon for his treason and former offences; yet Morton, in his turn, was banished the kingdom. As he had now, however, two such good friends at court as Murray and Lethington, he was in hopes of being soon recalled by their assistance, or by a new plot from them in their turn. In a letter from Morton and Ruthven, then in exile at Berwick, dated the 2d of April 1566, to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, they thus unfold their expectations.

“ Since we are in trouble *for the relief of*
 “ *our brethren, and the religion* *, we doubt
 “ not to find your favour, *as our brethren*
 “ *have done before, who were of late banish-*
 “ *ed*; desiring you most heartily, that by

* Religion, we know, was always the pretext for Murray and Morton's actions; but what sort of religion it was which prompted these pious men to murders and assassinations, mankind may judge.

“ yourself

"yourself, and such others as you may
"procure, we may find favour at the
"Queen's Majesty your mistress's hands,
"for remaining within hir Highness's
"realm, until such time *as we may be re-*
"*lieved by the help of our brethren, which*
"*we hope in God shall be shortly *.*" The
next step, therefore, of the Earl of Murray
and Secretary Lethington (who had care-
fully, as we have seen, kept himself hid
from view in this last plot), was to labour
to have their associate Morton restored again
to favour. For this purpose the proposal
made by Murray and Lethington, first to
the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, and after
that to the Queen herself, falls here to be
considered.

In the famous *protestation or declaration*
of the *Earls of Huntly and Argyle*, these
two Noblemen declare, that in the month
of December (the same year) 1566, while

* Goodall, vol. i. p. 264.

the Queen was residing at the castle of Craigmillar, *the Earl of Murray and Secretary Lethington* came into their apartment in the morning, “ and lamenting the
 “ banishment of the *Erle of Mortoun*, Lordis
 “ Lyndsay and Rowen, with the rest of
 “ thair faction, said, that the occasioun
 “ of *the murther of David*, shane be thame
 “ in presence of the Quene’s Majestie, was
 “ for to troubill and *impesche* the parlia-
 “ ment, quhairin the Erle of Murray and
 “ utheris sould have bene foirfaltit, and
 “ declarit rebellis. And seeing that the
 “ samin was chieflie for the weilfare of the
 “ Erle of Murray, it sould be estemit ingra-
 “ titude, gif he and his friendis, in reci-
 “ proque manner, did not interpryse all
 “ that wer in thair *puissance* for relief of
 “ the saidis banishit: quhairfoir thay thocht,
 “ that we, of our part, sould have bene as
 “ desyrous thairto as thay wer.”

“ And we agreeing to the same, to do all
 “ that was in us for thair relief, provyding
 “ that

“that the Quene’s Majestie fould not be
 “offendit thairat: On this Lethington pro-
 “ponit, and said, “That the nearest and
 “best way till obtene the said Erle of Mor-
 “toun’s pardoun, was, *to promise to the*
 “*Quene’s Majestie, to find ane moyen to make*
 “*divorcement betwixt hir Grace and the King*
 “*hir husband, quha had offendit hir Hienes*
 “*sa bielie in mony wayis.*”

“Quhairunto we answering, That we
 “knew not how that might be done; Le-
 “thington said, *the Erle of Murray being ever*
 “*present,* “My Lord, cair zou not thairof.
 “We sall find the meane weill eneugh to
 “mak hir quite of him, swa that ze and my
 “Lord of Huntlie will onlie behald the
 “matter, and not be offended thairat. And
 “thairon we four, the Erles of Huntly,
 “Argyle, Murray, and Secretary Lething-
 “ton, passed all to the Erle of Bothwell’s
 “chamber, to understand his advise on thir
 C 2 “things

“things proponit, wharein he ganefaid not,
“mair than we.”

“Swa thairefter we past altogidder to-
“wardis the Quene’s Grace; quhair Le-
“thington, after recounting the King’s
“intollerabill offences, and his continew-
“ing everie day from evil to worse,”—
made the proposal to the Queen, as men-
tioned above, of making divorcement be-
tween the Queen and him. To this the
Queen was averse, by reason it might per-
haps prejudice her son, and said, “That
“peradventure he (Darnley) *wald change*
“*opinion*, and that it wer better that scho
“hirsell for ane tyme passit in France,
“abyding *till he acknawledgit hirsell*.”
Then Lethington taking the speache said,
“Madame, fanzie ze not we ar heir of
“the principal of zour Grace’s Nobilitie
“and Counsal, that fall find the moyen,
“that zour Majestie fall be quyte of him
“without prejudice of zour sone. And
“albeit

“ albeit that my Lord of Murray heir pre-
 “ sent be lytill les scrupulous for ane Pro-
 “ testant nor zour Grace is for ane Papist,
 “ I am assurit he will *luik throw his fingeris*
 “ *thairto, and will behald our doings, saying*
 “ *nathing to the samen* *.” The Quene an-
 “ swerit, “ I will that ze do nathing quhair-
 “ thro ony spot may be layit to my ho-
 “ nor or conscience, and thairfoir I pray
 “ zou rather lat the matter be in the estait
 “ as it is, abyding till God of his guidnes
 “ put remeid thairto; that ze beleifing to
 “ do me service, may possibill turn to my
 “ hurt and displeasour.” “ Madame,”
 (said Lethington,) “ let us guide the mat-
 “ ter amangis us, and zour Grace fall see
 “ nathing bot guid, and approvit be Par-
 “ liament.”

* Here Lethington lays down the part which his friend Murray had agreed to play in the tragedy that was to follow; he was to be placed behind the curtain, looking through his fingers, beholding the catastrophe, and saying nothing. With what address Murray performed this part, we shall soon observe.

The inference made by Huntly and Argyle, from this procedure of Murray, Bothwell, and Lethington, is in these words: “Swa efter the premiffes, the
 “murthour of the faid Henry Stewart fol-
 “lowing, we judge in our consciences, and
 “haldis for certane and trueth, that the
 “faidis *Erle of Murray and Secretaire*
 “*Lethington wer auctoris, inventaris, de-*
 “*vyseris, counfallouris, and causeris of the*
 “*said murthour*, in quhat manner or be
 “whatfumever perfounis the famin was
 “executed.”

“And where the faidis Erle of Murray,
 “and Lethingtoun, or ony of thame, will
 “deny and ganefay to the foirfaid, we ar
 “deliberat to defend the famin be law of
 “armis, as our awin proper honor, in
 “quhatfumever place thay will cheife in
 “Scotland, afoir the estaitis thairof; out
 “of the quhilk realme we cannot pafs, be
 “ressoun of the troubillis ar thairintill.
 “And

“ And gif the Quene’s Majestie of Eng-
 “ land pleisis to send ony in her name, to
 “ heir and see the premiffis defendit, the
 “ famin fall be put to execution in thair
 “ presence.”

The Earl of Murray’s answer to the
 above, is as follows: “ Because the custume
 “ of my adversaris is, and has bene, rather
 “ to calumpniat and backbite me in my ab-
 “ sence, than befoir my face; and that it
 “ may happen thame, quhen I am departit
 “ furth of this realme (England), sclander-
 “ ouslie and untrewlie to report untreuthis
 “ of me, and *namelie towardis sum spechis*
 “ *balidin in my bearing at Craigmillar*, in the
 “ month of November 1566, I have alreddie
 “ *declarit to the Quene’s (Elizabeth) Majestie*
 “ the effect of the haill purposis, spokin in
 “ my audience at the famin tyme, sincerelie
 “ and trewlie, *as I will answer to almychtie*
 “ *God*, unconceilling ony part to my re-
 “ membrance, as hir Heines I traist will
 C 4 “ report,

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“ report *. And farther, in cais ony man
 “ will say and affirm, that ever I was pre-
 “ sent, quhen ony purposis wer haldin at
 “ Craigmillar in my audience, tending to
 “ ony unlauchful or dishonorabill end, or
 “ that ever *I subscrivit ony band there*, or
 “ that ony purpos was haldin anent the
 “ subscribing of ony band be me, to my
 “ knowlege, I avow they speik wickitlie
 “ and untrewlie, quhilk I will mantene
 “ aganis thame, as becumis ane honest
 “ man, to the end of my lyfe †.”

What

* Was this a sufficient answer to Huntly and Argyll? Because he had told a tale to his good friend Elizabeth.

† If this gentleman is to be acquitted by his own oath, we find him extremely ready upon every occasion to give this sort of proof; and his sanctified air and deportment served him to very good purpose on these occasions. Hence he derived the name of the *Gude Regent*; a title which bore a very different signification in those days in Scotland, to what the epithet of *good* or *worthy* at this day expresses; *Robertson, vol. i. last page*. The *Gude Regent*, in the cant phrase of the religionists

What explanation the Earl of Murray was pleased to give to Queen Elizabeth, his friend and confident, of the above conferences,

ligionists of those days, meant the *Godlie Regent*; and as Murray's pretension to godliness was always in his mouth, it was with good reason that he got from the people, and their leaders among the clergy, that name. That the air of sanctity affected by this statesman was characteristic, the following letters under his hand plainly shew. After the battle of Langside, when Mary was obliged to take refuge in England, and remained at Bolton, whether it was with a political view, to ingratiate herself with Queen Elizabeth, or from a real desire to be better informed, it appears, that she had shown herself favourably inclined to the Reformed religion, and had heard some of their preachers. The Lord Scroop, in a letter to Murray, then Regent, acquaints him of this, and of a proposal for restoring her to the government, under certain conditions. To this Murray writes an answer, 7th August 1568, "Glaid I am" (says he) "to hear by your letter, the Queen, mother to the King my sovereign, is becum so religious; and mair glaid wald I be, gif I could be perswaded of her unfeigned lyking to the *true preaching of the Gospel*, *thinking it suld move her to humiliation and repentance*, without which ground, her resorting to the service

" of

ferences, held by him in the castle of Craig-millar, we are yet to learn. There is no doubt, that he thought himself very safe in
the

“ of the kirk of England serves her turn presently, to
 “ move *godlie men* to conceive a gude opinion of her
 “ conformity and towardness. *But I fear, being restored*
 “ *to her government again,* as your Lordship writes, it
 “ *shuld be of the most difficile conditions, to become gude;*
 “ for that she shuld abandon the mass, and he that swa
 “ take an hand in her name, might, peradventure,
 “ ere long time past, be reproached. Hereon we need
 “ write na farther; for upon the short experience your
 “ Lordship has had of her, I doubt not but ye confi-
 “ der well enough, both her zeal to the true religion,
 “ and her inclination otherways, whilk *I wish to God*
 “ *had been as well employed as God endued her with many*
 “ *good qualities. All will be as his godlie Providence*
 “ *appoints.*”

Could John Knox himself, or any other ghostly father of the times, have put on a more sanctified appearance, or uttered more godly words, than this pious politician does? His zeal, we see, for the true religion was great, and his care for the Queen's soul, no doubt, made him afraid, that being restored to her government (of which he himself was then in possession) would make it *of the most difficult condition for her to become*
godly.

the hands of that Princess, to whom, he tells us upon oath, that he had unbosomed himself; and therefore, it would appear, he

godly. The mortification of a prison he took to be the more sure way to move her to humiliation and repentance!

We shall give another sketch of this gentleman's picture, of his own drawing, which is surely genuine, and more to be regarded than the artificial colouring of a foreign hand. The Queen, at this very time, had written to the Earl of Murray, putting him in mind of the favours she had bestowed on him, and acts of grace for his treason and rebellion against her, and upbraiding him for seizing the government, forcing her out of the kingdom, and even seeking her life. To this Murray answers, "Madam, I think yourself doubts
"not, and the hail world may judge, that gif my in-
"tention had been to shorten your days, I have had
"greater moyen to do it than ever the will entered into
"my heart. I need not to insist upon my purgation of
"that point; only this I will say, I shall never ask
"God mercy for any thought that ever entered in my
"mind towards the life of any mortal man, far less
"your Grace, whom *I take God to witness I have loved*
"*as dearly as ever I did or shall any living creature.*"
Murray's design, by these solemn asseverations, was not
so

he thought nobody else had a title to hear his tale. Thus far we see from this extraordinary answer of Murray, that he does not deny the conferences, and proposal alleged to have been made by him and Lethington. It therefore must appear sufficiently convincing, to any unprejudiced person, that what these Noblemen have

so much on account of the Queen, as to justify himself to Lord Scroop, then with the Queen at Bolton, and to whom Murray, in the former letter addressed to his Lordship, sends a copy of this letter to the Queen. Both letters are curious, and may be seen at full length in the fourth volume of Anderson's Collection, p. 115. 117.

What credit ought to be given to these oaths of Murray, is submitted to the Public. At the same time it must strike every breast with horror, to hear such solemn protestations and appeals made to the truth of facts, which, at best, must appear equivocal to every person who considers the foregoing proofs of this man's repeated conspiracies, treasons, and rebellions, his brutal behaviour to the Queen, his depriving her of her government, and, in a few months after writing the above letters, publicly accusing her to the world of adultery and murder.

affirmed

affirmed is true. We therefore shall leave the Reader to judge for himself, of the propriety of the inference these Noblemen draw from thence, of Murray and Lethington's guilt, and accession to the murder of the Lord Darnley, which was committed within a few weeks of their propofal to make the Queen *quyte of him*.

Of this protestation, as it is called, of Huntly and Argyle, we have a copy preserved in the Cotton Library, with the original of Murray's answer, signed by himself, *James Regent*, pasted on the back of the protestation.

Dr. Robertson endeavours to show, that there never was any original of the protestation signed by Huntly and Argyle; what is extant being, as he is pleased to allege, only an intercepted copy, contained in a letter sent by the Queen to those two Noblemen for them to sign. What is extant

tant is acknowledged to be no more than a copy unsubscribed; but that can be no proof that there never did exist an original. Queen Mary had very good reason not to trust the original of so important a writing with Secretary Cecil, after the manifest partiality shewn against her. But although the original of this paper does not at this day appear, yet we have an authentic evidence to the truth of the facts contained in it, not only signed by Huntly and Argyll, but likewise attested by thirteen other Peers of the highest rank in Scotland, dated 12th September 1568 *. After rehearsing the murder of Rizzio, and the banishment of Morton and his associates upon that account, it proceeds in these words: “ And
 “ hearing of the young behaviour through
 “ fulage counsal of hir (the Queen’s) husband,
 “ thay causit mak offers to our said
 “ Sovereign Lady, gif hir Grace wald gif

* Cotton Lib. Calig. book i. fol. 282. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 359. See p. 287, 288. of this Inquiry.

“ remission to them that were banished at
“ that time, to find causes of divorce, or
“ then to get him *convict of treason*, or what
“ other way to *dispatch him*; which altoget-
“ her his Grace refused, as is manifestly
“ known.”

It is needless to use further arguments, while we have the best of authorities to support this writing of Huntly and Argyle, no less than that of Secretary Cecil himself. We have already said, that on the back of the copy of the protestation in the Cotton Library, is pasted the original answer to it, signed by the Earl of Murray; and at the foot of this is written, by Secretary Cecil's own hand, this notandum: “ 19th January
“ 1568. An Answer of the Earl of Mur-
“ ray to a Writing of the Earl of Huntly
“ and Argyle *.”

And

* Cotton Lib. Calig. book i. fol. 282.

Mr. Strangue, in his Life of Queen Mary, thus writes: “ What the Earls of Huntly and Argyle did
“ protest

And after all, Dr. Robertson seems fairly to give up the arguments used in the Dissertation against the reality of this writing of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, by adopting the facts and substance of it in his History, and expressly referring to it for his authority *.

Before we leave Murray and Lethington, and their consultations at the castle of Craigmillar, we mean to shew the result of these consultations.—We have seen their proposal, of getting quit of Lord Darnley, rejected by the Queen; that was not sufficient, however, to deter such bold determined spirits, as Murray, Lethington, and their new associate Bothwell, from persevering in their plan.

It was the custom of that barbarous age, both in Scotland and in the neighbouring

“ protest in this matter, I think good to set down out
 “ *of the original with their own hands*, sent to Queen
 “ Elizabeth, *which I have seen.*” Folio, p. 35.

* Robertson's History, vol. i. p. 386. octavo edition.

kingdom, when any great enterprife was undertaken, or conspiracy entered into, for the confederates to join in a bond or writing, for the accomplishment of their scheme, and obliging themselves to support and defend each other in the consequence of it.

This was the case in the conspiracy for the murder of Rizzio; and that it was so in the present plot, for taking off the Lord Darnley, we have most clear evidence.

The first mention of this is by Murray himself, in his above answer to the protestation of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle. Although he artfully evades the question, yet it is plain that he knew of this bond of association. He does not deny that he was present, and joined in the measure there concerted; but, says he, "gif
"any man will say that I subscrivit any

“band there,——I avow they speik wick-
 “etlie and untreuelie.”——As from Le-
 thington’s speech we see that Murray was
 to be a by-stander only, and not to act open-
 ly, it is probable that he avoided signing the
 bond. His chief care was always to cover
 himself from view *.

The next mention we find made of this
 bond, is at the conferences at Westminster.
 There, Lord Herries, one of Queen Mary’s
 commissioners, a nobleman who, for ho-
 nour, probity, and a steady adherence to
 his Sovereign in all her distresses, shines
 one of the first characters of that age, de-
 clares, “That when the cause shuld be far-
 “ther tryit, it *wald be pruverd*, that sum
 “of tham which be now the (Queen’s) ac-

* This infamous bond was framed, and afterwards
 proved to be of the hand-writing of Sir James Balfour,
 clerk register, one of the most corrupt men of that age,
 who at this time had attached himself to Bothwell. Or-
 miston’s confession. — Arnot’s Criminal Trials, 1785.

“cusers,

"cufers, were *privy to the making of bands*
 "and *writings for the conspiracy of the*
 "death of the Lord Darnley, the Queen's
 "spouse*."

The bond is still more particularly mentioned in the memorial of the Queen's commissioners, presented by them to the English commissioners at Westminster, in which there is the following pointed accusation against Murray and his confederates: "That thay who now pretend to
 "excuse thair own treafouns," (by calumniating their Sovereign) "were the first
 "inventaris, writers with their own handis
 "of *that devillish band*, the conspiracy of
 "the slaughter of that innocent young
 "gentilman Henry Stewart, lait spouse till
 "our Sovereigne, and presentit to their
 "wicket confederate James Earle Bothwell, as was maid manifest befor ten
 "thousand pepill at the execution of

* Paper-office.—Goodall, vol. ii. p. 212.

“ certain principall offendaris at Edin-
 “ burgh *.”

To those accusations no particular answer was made by Murray, except the above general denial of his signing this bond, and that he had told his tale to his friend Queen Elizabeth. And we have seen, that although Queen Mary and her commissioners often repeated their accusation, and “ offerit
 “ to nominate and accuse such personis of
 “ (Murray’s) cumpanie as wer guiltie of
 “ the murder, and wald pruiſ the ſame,” yet no answer was ever made to this particular charge: and that, notwithstanding Queen Mary’s remonſtrance againſt their being allowed to “ depart the realm, not
 “ abiding the tryall and pruiſ of their de-
 “ tection;” yet, by the ſhameful conniv-

* John Hepburn of Bowton, a friend of Bothwell’s, who was hanged at Edinburgh for the murder of Darnley, confeſſed, at his execution, that he had ſeen the bond in Bothwell’s hands.—And. vol. i. p. 76.
 See alſo Ormiſton’s confeſſion in Arnot’s Trials.

ance

ance of Queen Elizabeth, this matter was quashed, and Murray and his company were licensed to withdraw themselves and to return to Scotland, while, in open violation of justice, humanity, and of her solemn promise of protection, Elizabeth detained the unfortunate Mary her prisoner for life! I now proceed.

About this time, it is pretended that the Queen entertained a criminal passion for the Earl of Bothwell; and for this we must rely upon the authorities of Knox and Buchanan. Dr. Robertson on this point candidly owns, that "the ardour of these writers zeal, and the violence of their prejudices, render their opinions rash, precipitate, and inaccurate." Therefore, says our author, "it is by the *effects* of this reciprocal passion that we are to judge of its reality *." I join issue with the Doc-

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 373, et seq.; octavo edition.

tor on this head. Let us now see the effects which this supposed passion of the Queen for Bothwell produced. We shall follow Dr. Robertson in the instances he gives, as the criterion for judging of the Queen's passion.

The contempt, says our Historian, under which Lord Darnley had fallen, who now, by his own behaviour, had become universally hated and despised, had determined him to the resolution of leaving Scotland, and going into foreign parts. This resolution alarmed the Queen; to whom, says our Author, it was very mortifying, because it would have spread the infamy of their domestic quarrel all over Europe. She therefore used all her influence to prevent this measure.

Now, let any man seriously consider, and say, if such would have been the conduct of a woman engaged in a criminal
amour.

amour. In such a situation, her husband's absence must surely have been what she most wished for. The Queen's contrary conduct on this occasion is therefore a strong argument of her innocence. We proceed to another sort of argument used by Dr. Robertson against the Queen.

While Mary was at Jedburgh, at which place, on the border, the neighbouring counties, as was the custom at that time, were attending her in arms at a court of justice, the Earl of Bothwell, as Lord Lieutenant of the Marches *, being on his duty at Hermitage castle, eighteen miles distant, was wounded in an attempt to seize a gang of banditti who infested the border. On the news of this insurrection, and of Bothwell's being slain, the Queen, with an

* An office to which for his valour he had been appointed in the late Queen-Regent's time, and not now promoted to by Mary's favour, as Dr. Robertson has asserted.

armed force, made a sudden march to the Hermitage; but finding the rioters had fled, she the very same day returned to Jedburgh.

This incident is painted out by Dr. Robertson as a strong proof of Mary's love for Bothwell: the Queen's flying thither, says he, strongly marks the anxiety of a lover, but was unsuitable to her dignity as a Queen. To make a journey of eighteen miles, in the month of October, on an expedition against thieves, can be accounted for, concludes our Author, from no other motive than love.

This reasoning seems more specious than solid. In arguing on facts of a remoter age, the manners of that age are to be considered, which differ very widely from the present. The peace of the border, and the quelling of insurrections there, had always been considered by our Monarchs as an
object

object worthy of attention. Mary's father, the high-spirited James V. had often in person quelled such disorders. Mary herself had before this made expeditions of this kind through several parts of her kingdom. It plainly appears, that an insurrection was premeditated on the border; and for preventing this, and holding a solemn court of justice, the whole country then attended the Queen in arms at Jedburgh*.

The

* That a premeditated scheme was formed by Morton and his banished associates for rising in arms at this time, is plain from the Earl of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant of the English Marches, his letter to Cecil of the 3d of August, *Goodall, vol. i. p. 304.* who thus writes: "The Queen (Mary) means shortly to go
" against the Laird of Cessfurd and his son, and to
" keep a justice-court at Jedburgh for that purpose;
" then Bothwell shall come with a force, and subdue
" all: but the gentlemen, as the Lord Home, Cess-
" furd, and Buccleuch, and the rest of the surname,
" promise to live and die with Cessfurd, and to with-
" stand Bothwell, unless the Queen come in person.
" The Elliots, who we feared would become our open
" enemies, have sent to the Lord Warden and me to
" suffer

The rumour of the attack on Bothwell, we may believe, was greatly magnified, together with the contempt of the Queen's authority, then in the very neighbourhood: all this, with the consciousness of her strength to crush so audacious an insult, may sufficiently, and without any supposed love for Bothwell, account for Mary's sudden march to the Hermitage.

On the contrary, I apprehend Mary acted on this occasion the very reverse of what a lover would have done. Love, says our Author, made her fly to Bothwell

“ suffer them to lie five or six days on our borders;
 “ and we answered, As much as we might do without
 “ breach of amity, and as the treaty will anywise bear,
 “ we will show them favour; and they promise us all
 “ quietness and good neighbourhood.” And again,
 by another letter, of the 12th of August, the Earl thus
 writes: “ I have heard, that there is a device working
 “ for the Earl of Bothwell, the particularities whereof
 “ I might have heard; but because such dealings like
 “ me not, I desire to hear no further thereof;” *Cotton*
Lib. Calig. fol. 380. 382.

through

through eighteen long miles of bad roads, in the month of October. But let me ask, Upon her finding Bothwell slightly wounded, and the rioters fled, was it love that made her, in such a violent haste, return back the same night to Jedburgh, by the same bad roads and tedious miles? The Queen, we have seen, had a very plausible pretext for making the journey to the Hermitage. Surely, if love had in any degree possessed her heart, it must have supplied her with many more as plausible reasons for passing that night in her lover's company, without exposing herself to the inconveniencies of an uncomfortable journey, and the inclemency of the night-air at that season. I cannot, on this occasion, agree with Dr. Robertson as a love-casulist. I apprehend the Queen's behaviour, in both the foregoing instances, is a convincing testimony on her side, that she was altogether free from any love-attachment whatever at this period.

Dr.

Dr. Robertson, in detailing Queen Mary's expedition to Jedburgh, where, on her return, she was seized with a violent fever, does not omit to mention the unfavourable reception she gave to her husband at that time. "During her illness, the King never came near Jedburgh, and when he afterwards thought fit to make his appearance there, he met with such a cold reception, as did not encourage him to make any long stay." A Historian of the life and actions of Queen Mary, while he selects circumstances, on which he founds the above conclusion, that a criminal love for Bothwell induced her to fly to him at this time, ought, in strict justice, to have entered more particularly into the conduct and behaviour of the Queen, while she was at Jedburgh, during her sickness. I shall supply what the Historian has omitted, from a paper which follows next to the above authority quoted by him *, *viz.* a letter

* Keith, Appendix, p. 134.

from Bishop Lesly to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Lesly, as the Queen's Confessor, attended the Queen at Jedburgh. He thus writes : " The Queen causit me to re-
" mayne continuallie beside her, to re-
" member hir on hir dewtie, and pray
" continuallie besyde hir. Hir Majestie
" maid the maist godlie exhortatiouns to
" all the nobilitie being here at this pre-
" sent time, that ever prince, or other, maid
" at sic time. First making her confession
" to God of hir offences—desiring his holy
" will to be fullfilled : that if it pleisit him
" to suffer her to remain in this world,
" for the governing his people committed
" to hir care, or to receive hir to his blis,
" she gladly would accept what his will
" appointed, and with as good heart and
" will to die, as live."——" She besought
" hir nobility to attend to the good go-
" vernment of the realm, and that they
" should keip luive and amity amongst
" themselves"——" She recomendit also
" the

“ the Prince, her son, to thair governance,
 “ praying them effectually to suffer nane
 “ to be with him in cumpany in his
 “ youtheid, that wold give him evil ex-
 “ ample in manners, but that sic war
 “ present with him who could and would
 “ instruct him in vertue and all godlie-
 “ nes.” — “ She recomendit to them
 “ the state of religion within the realm,
 “ praying thame effectuousslie to trouble nor
 “ prefs no man in his conscience that pro-
 “ fess’d the Catholic religioun.” — Let us
 now ask the Historian, Do these senti-
 ments of piety and religion correspond with
 the character of a woman immerfed, as
 he supposes, at that moment, in a crimi-
 nal amour ?

Within a few days after the conferences
 in the castle of Craigmillar, viz. on Christ-
 mas 1566, the Queen was prevailed upon
 to grant a pardon to the Earl of Morton,
 and to seventy-five of his accomplices in
 Rizzio’s slaughter. This was the previous
 and

and necessary step of the confederates to the grand enterprize, which soon after, upon Morton's appearing again in the scene, was to take place.

Upon the 9th of February 1567, the Earl of Murray affected publicly to ask leave to go from court * to his house in St. Andrew's, on pretence that his wife was indisposed. And the next morning, the 10th of February, the King's house was blown up with gun-powder, and his body found dead.

Before we go further, it may not be improper to make a stop here for a little, and call back our attention to two facts that have occurred in the preceding narration, which appear to throw light upon the dark affair of Darnley's murder.

We have recently seen the Queen's conduct in preventing her husband's resolution of leaving the kingdom, only three months before his murder.

* Keith, p. 365.

We

We shall enter into a full investigation of this matter afterwards.

The other fact to be observed is, the proposal made by Murray and Lethington to the Queen in the castle of Craigmillar, to procure a divorce between her and Darnley, which the Queen utterly rejected.

Now, as both these incidents happened within so short a time of Darnley's murder, and at the time when his behaviour to the Queen was most shocking, at the very time too when her enemies pretend she was carrying on her criminal amour with Bothwell, is it natural to conceive, that she should have rejected both these opportunities offered to her, of being so effectually freed from her husband without trouble, and rather chuse to involve herself in the horrid crime of his murder?

Should we suppose the reason of her rejecting the proposal of the divorce might proceed from an apprehension of doing
hurt

hurt to her son's title, which it is improbable that a woman, so wicked as to be meditating the death of his father, could be much affected with; yet Darnley's project of going abroad, not only freed her from the company of a troublesome husband, but likewise (if we can imagine her so wicked as her enemies have asserted) afforded her many opportunities, either of keeping him out of the kingdom, or of conspiring his death at a distance, by unknown hands.

Queen Mary's conduct, therefore, with regard to the above two facts, makes it altogether improbable, that at this time she could have entertained the most distant thought of so atrocious an action as the murder of her husband.

C H A P. IV.

*A Review of the Conduct of Queen Mary
previous to Lord Darnley's Murder.—
Dissertation on the Murder, and Vindica-
tion of the Queen.*

THE murder of Lord Darnley has not, in our apprehension, been considered in all its circumstances with that particular attention which its importance merits. Many, from the subsequent incident of Queen Mary's marriage with the Earl of Bothwell (afterwards detected as one of the principal conspirators in the death of Lord Darnley), have rested their judgment on that fact, as sufficient proof of the Queen's guilt as accessory to the murder; and upon that ground of conviction, have given themselves little trouble in examining
the

the several antecedent steps, together with the facts and circumstances which attended the actual murder. Some of the latter historians of those times, from whom deeper research and more candour might have been expected, appear to have taken the field against Queen Mary, with this prejudice and prepossession.

System being thus formed, facts are wrested to coincide with it; every circumstance that will admit of it, has been strained to her disadvantage.

Dr. Robertson, from a detail of the gross and perverse behaviour of Lord Darnley; his joining in confederacy with her enemies, in the murder of the Queen's Secretary, and his repeated insults to her, subsequent to that vile affair; has exerted his powers in establishing a system, " That
" from the period of the assassination of
" Rizzio, the Queen's affection for her
E 2 " husband

“ husband became *entirely extinguished*; that
“ an *implacable resentment and utter aver-*
“ *sion* for him took place in her breast,
“ which terminated in the murder of her
“ husband.” From this the Historian, with
his usual ability, has formed a chain of
argument, plausible indeed, and ingenious,
tending to infer a presumption of the
Queen’s being accessory to the murder.
We mean to attempt to remove this pre-
sumption by shewing the fallacy of the
Historian’s argument, and by a review of
Darnley’s conduct, and likewise of the
Queen’s behaviour to him from the death
of Rizzio, to the murder of Lord Darnley:
from which it will appear, that notwith-
standing the gross misbehaviour of the King,
and of his repeated outrages towards the
Queen, however her affections at times
might have been cooled, yet they never
were alienated or extinguished; far less
that by any of her actions or behaviour she
ever shewed the least mark of *aversion or*

hatred

hatred to her husband. Previous to this investigation, we shall give a sketch of the characters of Lord Darnley, and of the Queen, which we shall take from Dr. Robertson himself, and his friend Mr. Hume. We begin with the Queen:

“ Mary,” says Dr. Robertson, “ was
“ possessed of great sensibility of temper,
“ and was capable of the utmost ten-
“ derness and affection. She was po-
“ lite and affable; violent in her attach-
“ ments, because her heart was warm and
“ unsuspicious.”

Mr. Hume's character of Mary is, “ that
“ she was possessed of a lofty spirit, con-
“ stant and vehement in her purpose,
“ yet polite, gentle, and affable in her
“ demeanour.”

As a prominent *trait* in the Queen's character, remarkable through the whole transactions of her life, we may add, that though con-

scious of her high rank and dignity, and feelingly sensible of what was injurious to it, yet her resentment for the most atrocious offences committed against her, soon melted away, and left not a trace behind it. Such was Queen Mary.

Let us now turn to Lord Darnley.

Lord Darnley is represented by all the historians as a young man of weak understanding, conceited of his own abilities, and of a violent overbearing temper. By his insolent and imperious behaviour he had disgusted the nobility, and, even before joining in the conspiracy with Morton and his associates, the Queen's inveterate enemies, in the assassination of Rizzio, he had often given the Queen much cause of displeasure. Although she had bestowed on him the title of King, and admitted him to a share in the councils of the state, yet not satisfied, he had demanded, with the most

most insolent importunity, says Dr. Robertson, the crown matrimonial, and to share with her the throne and government of the kingdom ; which the Queen, knowing his absolute incapacity, and the averfeness of the nobility to fuch a measure, had refused, as not in her power indeed to grant, without the authority of Parliament. This refusal, ill brooked by Darnley, made him an easy prey to the confederates, Murray, Morton, and their associates ; who prevailed with him to join in the conspiracy against Rizzio, to whom they attributed the Queen's refusal to him of the crown matrimonial. The particulars of Rizzio's affaffination, and the part which Lord Darnley took in that vile affair, have already been related. That the Queen should shew some degree of resentment at first against her husband upon that account, is not to be wondered at ; that her resentment soon subsided, and that she endeavoured to forget his conduct,

and even to excuse him, is testified by the memorial of the Lords of Privy Council, sent by them to the Queen-mother of France*.
 “ Although,” say the Lords of Council,
 “ Rizzio’s murther was perpetrated with
 “ his (the King’s) knowledge, yet would
 “ the Queen never accuse him thereof,
 “ but did alwise excuse him, and was
 “ willing to appear as if she believed it
 “ not.”

Such unquestionable authority as this letter of the Lords of the Privy Council, of whom the Earl of Murray and his friends were then at the head, is an ample justification of the Queen with regard to any alleged ground of discontent given to Lord Darnley by her.

But, says our Historian, Darnley was neglected by the Nobility. This cannot be attributed to the Queen. It was owing to his own insolent behaviour to them.

* Keith.

“ As

“As for the Nobility,” says the above letter, “they come to court and pay deference and respect, according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance. But he (Lord Darnley) is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved by them, having gone so far as to prohibit these noblemen to enter his room, whom the Queen had first appointed to be about his person.—If he desire to be followed and attended by the Nobility, he must, in the first place, make them to love him, and to this purpose must render himself amiable to them.”

Let us now review Dr. Robertson's account of Queen Mary's behaviour and disposition towards her husband, from the above period to his death.

“From the æra of Rizzio's assassination,” says our Author, “the happy union which had subsisted between the Queen and her husband,

“ husband, became entirely dissolved. Se-
 “ cret distrust, and frequent quarrels suc-
 “ ceeded. Her aversion for *him* could
 “ not be concealed *.” The direct con-
 trary we proceed to prove.

We

* For this the Historian takes his authority from Randolph and Bedford's letters to Cecil; both of whom show a manifest disposition to defame Queen Mary, as knowing the same to be agreeable to their mistress Queen Elizabeth. This our Author himself acknowledges. From his letters, Randolph appears more under the character of a spy, than a public minister; one of the lowest, it would seem, that ever disgraced that name. Queen Mary having detected him in sending money to her rebel subjects, ordered him to depart from Scotland †. Bedford's residence was on the English border. He was Lord Lieutenant of the Marches. His following letter to Cecil, of the 3d of August 1566, from which the Historian takes his authority, shows his genius for scandalizing the Queen, by retailing low stories, picked up by him on the Border. “ The Queen,” says he, “ and her
 “ husband, agree after the old manner. She eateth
 “ but seldom with him. She lieth not, nor keepeth
 “ company

† Keith, p. 344.

We shall shew from undoubted authority, that so far from the mutual affection between the Queen and her husband being *dissolved or extinguished*, the Queen on every occasion shewed great tenderness for him, and notwithstanding his absurd, peevish, and even brutish behaviour, did every thing in her power to reclaim and bring him to reason. We shall proceed in our review of Dr. Robertson.

“The contempt,” says he, “under which Darnley was sensible he had fallen, made him take the resolution of leaving the kingdom, and going into foreign parts.

“company with him. It cannot *for modesty*, nor “with the honour of a Queen, be reported what she said of him.” Shocking, indeed, it must have been, what this retailer of scandal could not repeat! Robertson, vol. i. Appendix, No. XVII. *Vide Keith, Append. 172.* Our Author, conscious of the weakness of his argument, is obliged, at last, to have recourse to the infamous Letters, which, we hope, have been proved, to the conviction of the public, to be notorious forgeries.

“This

“This resolution,” says the Historian,
“must have been very mortifying to the
“Queen, as it would have spread the in-
“famy of their domestic quarrel all over
“Europe: she therefore exerted her utmost
“endeavour to prevent the King from
“taking that measure.” It has been
formerly noticed, that, according to this
author, the Queen’s supposed amour with
the Earl of Bothwell at this very time took
place. This is mere conjecture. Had this
truly been the case, is it credible, as already
observed, that a woman engaged in an adul-
terous amour, would exert all her powers
to prevent her husband from going into fo-
reign parts, and leaving her and her gallant
to enjoy themselves at will? The whole
story is founded on conjecture, without the
shadow of proof, as we have already shewn,
and we shall leave it to the reader’s judg-
ment to decide. That the Queen’s using
every measure in her power to prevent
Darnley from leaving the kingdom, pro-
ceeded

ceeded entirely from tenderness and affection for him, we think, is clearly proved from the scene that passed between them in presence of the French Ambassador and the Lords of Council. Monsieur Le Croc's narrative proceeds thus *:

" When the King and Queen were a-bed together, her Majesty took occasion to talk to him. She besought him to declare the ground of his designed voyage: but in this he would by no means satisfy her. Early the next morning the Queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and other Counsellors, and prayed the King to declare the reason of his projected departure. *She took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare, if she had given him any occasion for this resolution, and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her.* The King

* Keith, p. 348, 349.

" at

*“ at last declared, that he had no ground at
 “ all given him for such a deliberation.”*

The letter of the Lords of Privy Council agrees with the Ambaffador's letter, and proceeds thus :

The Lords of Council did remonstrate to him, “ That for her Majesty, so far was
 “ she from ministring to him cause of discontent, that, on the contrary, he had
 “ all the reason in the world to thank God
 “ for giving him so wise and virtuous
 “ person as she had shewed herself in all
 “ her actions. *Then her Majesty was pleased*
“ to enter into discourse, and spoke affectionately
“ ately to him, beseeching, that seeing
“ would not open his mind to her in private
“ last night, according to her most earnest
“ request, he would at least be pleased to
“ declare before these Lords, where she
“ offended him in any thing.—But
“ would not own that he intended a
 “ voyage

"voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely, that the Queen had given him no occasion for any *." Such a testimony, given in the presence of Lord Darnley himself, the Queen, the French Ambassador, and the chief of the Nobility, convened in Council, must blow to atoms such despicable authority, as the scandalous, picked-up tales of a Randolph or a Bedford!

We proceed in our narrative.—The quiet of the kingdom requiring solemn assizes to be held on the Border, an order of the Privy Council is issued, for summoning the Nobility and Gentry of the neighbouring counties, *to attend the King and Queen* on their circuit, at Melrose, on the 8th of October. The Queen, however, was obliged to set out by herself; her sullen husband was not in humour to give his presence on that occasion. On this pro-

* Keith, p. 348, 349.

gress, the Queen was seized with a dangerous fever at Jedburgh, where, for several days, her life was despaired of. By a letter of the French Ambassador, we are informed, that although the King was speedily acquainted of the Queen's sickness, he came not near her for eight days, and until the fever was abated. On the authority of Knox, Dr. Robertson says, he met with a cold reception, staid but one night at Jedburgh, and set off the next morning for Glasgow. On the Queen's recovery, she took up her residence at the Castle of Craigmillar. The Earl of Murray's proposal there to the Queen, and the conferences on that head, have already been recited.

The Queen having made great preparation for solemnizing the baptism of the Prince at Stirling, the ceremony was performed in presence of the English and French Ambassadors, and the chief of her
own

own Nobility : the King persevering in his bad humour, continued at Stirling, although he was not present at the solemnity. As Elizabeth " had commanded that neither " the Earl of Bedford, nor any of his re- " tinue, should give the title of King to " Lord Darnley *," Queen Mary could not have witnessed this affront without resenting it; and this was no time, while she was courting her favour, to break with Elizabeth. The embarrassment indeed was eluded, by the King's absenting himself from the ceremony. He had always given out, says Le Croc, " that he would depart " two days before the baptism; but when " the time came on, he made no sign of " removing at all, only he still kept close

* Cambden.—Dr. Stuart's Hist. p. 185, 186.—Through the whole of her letters and negotiations it does not appear that Elizabeth ever gave the title of King to Lord Darnley, as she always considered him as her subject.—Even after his death she thus mentions him,—“ The deceased gentleman.” Stuart, p. 186.

“ within his own apartment, thus exposing
 “ the Queen, and their domestic quarrels*.”
 The Queen, though, no doubt, much hurt
 by such shocking behaviour, did the hon-
 ours of the festival with that native dig-
 nity and grace peculiar to herself, so as to
 give universal satisfaction, and to win the
 hearts of the whole of this illustrious assem-
 bly. On this occasion, the French Ambaf-
 fador, by letter of the 23d of December,
 thus expresses himself:—“ The Queen
 “ behaved herself admirably all the time of
 “ the baptism, and shewed so much earnest-
 “ ness to entertain all the goodly company
 “ in the best manner, that this made her

* Darnley's behaviour at this time must have been
 very gross, and grievous to the Queen.—Mr. Le Croc,
 a wise and discreet person, much in favour with him,
 thus writes:—“ The King's bad deportment is in-
 “ curable, nor can there be any good expected from
 “ him, for several reasons which I might tell you,
 “ were I present with you.”—Le Croc's letter to the
 Archbishop of Glasgow, 23d Dec. 1566. Keith's
 Preface, p. 7.

“ forget,

“forget, in a good measure, her former ailments.—She sent for me yesterday, and I found her laid on the bed, weeping fore, and she complained of a grievous pain in her side.—I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with.”—Here we have a true picture of the Queen’s disposition; instead of anger or wrath being excited in her at the shocking behaviour of the King on this occasion, her resentment dissolves into tears! The King, to use the phrase of Knox, departed from Stirling without bidding good night, and arrived at Glasgow about the end of December, or beginning of January.

Thus having traced the Queen’s behaviour with regard to her husband, through every incident noticed by the Historians, until Lord Darnley’s sickness at Glasgow, in the beginning of January 1567; we find the same uniformity of temper and

manners, agreeing with Dr. Robertson's character of Mary, gentle, tender, and affectionate. Though shocked, at times, with such strong instances of the folly and brutality of Darnley, we discover not the smallest symptom of that fixed *hatred* and *aversion* which Dr. Robertson has attributed to her, and which, if true, must, upon some of the above occasions, in spite of herself, have broke out. That Mary, possessing such sensibility, such tenderness of heart, must have felt strongly the above injuries, is apparent from the foregoing delineation; she was at no pains to disguise these feelings: we see her penetrated with sorrow and grief of heart, but without the least spark of hatred or resentment. We have the strongest proof of this in her rejecting the Earl of Murray and Lethington's proposal to her at Craigmillar; when violent measures are proposed, her answer on that occasion shews in the most convincing

vincing manner, the tender regard which she still felt for an ungrateful and perverse youth, whom she nevertheless wished, and hoped, to reclaim. "Peradventure," says the Queen, "he *may change his opinion*, "and it were better that I myself for ane "tyme passit in France, abyding till he "*acknowlegit himself*."

Does this discover that aversion or hatred which the above Historian is pleased to say the Queen was possessed of towards her husband? I trust, every unprejudiced person will judge the contrary; and that at this time the Queen had still hopes of his amendment, *and change of opinion*, and that, as a testimony of this, she expected *his acknowledgment* *.

We

* Dr. Robertson, in support of his argument, cites Queen Mary's letter to Archbishop Bethune, her Ambassador in France, in which, he says, she mentions with bitterness the King's ingratitude.—In this confidential letter from the Queen to her own minister,

We continue our narrative.—The King, on his arrival at Glasgow, was seized with a dangerous malady, the symptoms of which, similar to those of every cutaneous disease, were at first violent and alarming, before an eruption took place, when his skin was covered with pustules. In that age every disease of that kind was by the vulgar supposed to be the effect of poison; most of the writers to be credited say, it was the small-pox. His sickness now brings him to a sense of his folly, and misbehaviour to the Queen; he now becomes anxious to see her, and to be reconciled to her.—After the King's departure from Stirling, the Queen had gone northward

she had no occasion to conceal the King's behaviour to her. We see her adversaries, in spite of her blameless conduct, always traducing her by propagating malicious falsehood against her. The Queen, in her letter to the Archbishop, vindicates herself from the calumnies of her enemies, which she had reason to apprehend might reach France, but without any bitterness. Anderson, vol. i. p. 12.

on some visits * to Drummond castle and Tullibardin, and was returned to Edinburgh, when, hearing of the King's request

* The Historian of Scotland says, " While the King was in danger, the Queen amused herself with excursions to different parts of the country, and suffered near a month to elapse before she visited him at Glasgow, when the violence of his distemper was over, and the King out of all danger." The remark is not candid; and the Author's account of the Queen's journey at this time, is exaggerated in every circumstance. The King was at Stirling on the 27th of December. His father, the Earl of Lennox, writes to him the same day from Glasgow, and expects to hear from him in answer. At the same time he mentions the extreme severity of the weather, improper for travelling. We cannot then suppose the King would travel for some days; at soonest we cannot suppose him to be at Glasgow before the beginning of January. After his arrival there he was taken ill. The Queen at this time was in Perthshire at the seat of the Lord Drummond, where, in all probability, she would hear nothing of his sickness for some days, and until the disease was abated. Her own delicate state of health, too, might not permit her immediately to set out on such a journey. It is not improbable, indeed, that on hearing that the King was out of danger, and considering

quest to see her, she immediately sets out for Glasgow, where she arrives on the 23d of January, and attends him until the 28th of that month, when, being in a condition to travel, he is transported to Edinburgh, and for the benefit of better air, from its more elevated situation than the palace of Holyrood House, he was lodged in the house of the Provost of the Kirk-a-field.

Let us now examine our Historian's remarks on the reconciliation that took place

dering his absurd behaviour towards her at Stirling, she might not think of visiting him at all, until she heard of his desire to see her on the 21st of January, when she set out from Edinburgh to visit him. Instead then of the Queen's amusing herself when the King was in danger, it is probable that she heard nothing of his sickness until he was out of danger; and, instead of a month, that a few days only after that could elapse, before she set out to see him: and in that interval, too, she had, from maternal fondness and care of her infant son, gone back to Stirling; and that she might have him constantly under her own eye, had carried him along with her to the palace of Holyrood House.

between

between the Queen and her husband. And here, it must be observed, that the Historian, with great address, *inverts* the proposition, by making the reconciliation to depend upon the Queen; the very reverse of which, we apprehend, is clearly proved by the foregoing series of facts, to have been the case. The King's perverse and sullen behaviour towards the Queen, through the continued course of the foregoing incidents, has been shewn; while, on her part, we have seen the genuine expressions of the utmost tenderness and regard for his weakness; we have seen her gentle and affectionate heart courting every opportunity to reclaim, and bring to reason, a weak, perverse, and headstrong young man. The Queen's negative answer to Murray and Lethington's proposal at Craigmillar castle, of divorcing him; and still more, the scene that passed between the Queen and her husband, in presence of the Lords of the Privy Council and the French

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French Ambassador, carry conviction of this truth beyond the reach of doubt.— After trying in private, to no purpose, to dissuade him from that measure, she wishes to see if the influence and advice of the Lords of her Privy Council might have weight with him : how natural, how tender, is her address to him upon that occasion ? She speaks affectionately to him. *She takes him by the hand. She beseeches him, for God's sake, to declare if she had offended him in any thing* *. *Speak*, says the generous, the warm-hearted Queen, to her insensible husband, *and spare me not*. He declares she had given him no offence. Still, however, he continued his

* This scene, which is striking and pathetic, we should think the Historian of those times would have courted an opportunity to have introduced, as it brings forward the two principal figures in the history, speaking themselves in presence of the Lords of Council. Our Historian mentions it not. He was sensible it overturned his system.

fullen

fullen humour. The Queen's gentle disposition to him continues invariably the same; she still hopes for his amendment.

The ill-humour, as we have seen, was entirely upon Darnley's part; the reconciliation of course then depended upon himself; upon his return to his duty to an affectionate consort, who wept for his folly, yet was ever disposed to forgive and receive him back to her arms. Such then being the case, as is proved by the preceding state of authenticated facts, how strange must appear the Historian's conclusion? "The reconcilment of the Queen
"with her husband," (says he) "if we
"allow it to be genuine, it is impossible to
"give any plausible account of!" Nothing is more easy, nothing is more natural, and in character of the Queen. When, only a few weeks before, the proposal of divorcing him is made by the Earl of Murray to the Queen at Craigmillar; (I must repeat it)
"No,"

“No,” says she, “*peradventure* he may “*change his opinion, and acknowledge him-
“self.*” That change, so ardently wished for by her, at length arrives. A severe malady, the bed of sickness, which reclaims many, and, by serious reflection on past misconduct, often induces a change of opinion, and resolution to amend, had its effect on Lord Darnley. He is now sensible of his folly and misconduct. He becomes a penitent, and is anxious to see, and to be reconciled to the Queen. “On hearing,” says the Bishop of Ross, “of *the King’s* “*repentance, and that he desired to see her,* “she hastened with speed to see him at Glas-
“gow*.”

Whence

* The Bishop of Ross’s authority is unquestionable. This man’s character for probity and integrity stands amongst the first of the age. His faithful attachment to the Queen his mistress, through every period of her distress, deprived him of the revenues of his see of Ross, and likewise of the rich monastery of Lindores, with which he was endowed. *His Defence* of the Honour of Queen Mary, is a nervous, acute, and eloquent composition.

Whence now arises the impossibility of accounting for the Queen's reconciliation with her husband? Nothing, we apprehend, could be more natural, or more consistent with the gentle and tender-hearted disposition of the Queen, and agreeable to her character as described by Dr. Robertson himself, and the other Writers.

position. It was printed first in London, soon after the conferences there; but was suppressed by order of Queen Elizabeth. The Bishop, however, was not so easily to be silenced. He procured a second edition to be printed at *Liege*, in 1571. Besides the Bishop's own knowledge, as one of the Lords of Privy Council of Scotland, and constantly at court, the Lords Herries and Boyd assisted him in his work. As to the above fact, the reconciliation of the King and Queen, the Bishop, who officiated at the ceremony of the baptism, was probably with her when she heard of the King's request to see her. He was her Confessor and Secretary for foreign letters, and constantly attended her.—See his letter to Archbishop Bethune before cited.—The fact is likewise confirmed by another contemporary writer, Crawford, *Memoirs*, p. 12. London edition.

To

To verify this opinion, we shall mention a fact which happened a few weeks only before the reconciliation.

The Queen, on Christmas-eve, as a deed of charity and benevolence suitable to that solemn festival, granted a free pardon to Morton, Lindsay, and seventy-five more accomplices in the murder of her Secretary! Was it strange that the heart which could pardon the perpetrators of so black a murder, attended with such horrid circumstances as to herself, should expand, and receive into grace Lord Darnley, who had been seduced by their artifice? Darnley, the husband of her affection, the father of her infant son, now a penitent, and on the bed of sickness? But this reconciliation, says our Author, and the tender affection shewn by the Queen to her husband, "was
"all *artifice* and *dissimulation*." She, by many marks of affection and confidence,
quieted

quieted all his suspicions *, until she got him under her own power, until she brought him to Edinburgh. For what purpose? To murder him while under her own protection,—in her capital, in the eye of all her people! A very bold scheme this! Let us suppose it true for a moment, and observe her behaviour. Let us compare it with the part which the Earl of Murray assumes on this occasion. Murray leaves Edinburgh, and sets out for St. Andrew's the day before the great catastrophe was to happen, the death of Darnley †. He

* The Historian here goes great length, indeed, in this part of his subject, and leaves sight of his usual candour. That the above was all artifice and dissimulation on the part of the Queen, is our Author's conjecture only; proof of it there is none. We presume we have proved the contrary. As for suspicion on Darnley's part, we may with confidence and truth affirm, that by not the smallest circumstance does it appear, that Darnley had ever the least suspicion of any black design of the Queen against his life, as is here surmised.

† We shall see another instance of Murray's precaution, in walking off the stage, when his friends Morton

He takes particular care to have his absence from the scene recorded, by affectedly soliciting the Queen's license to absent himself from Council on pretence of his wife's indisposition. He guards himself from suspicion, by having the sea between him and the scene of action. While the Queen braves suspicion. She leads her husband, the destined victim, to the house of slaughter! She attends him with the most assiduous care. She was seldom, says our Author, from him through the day, she slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. The very night of his death, she passed several hours with him, she affectionately kissed him at parting, and taking a ring from her finger she puts it on his *. And the scene being now prepared, *horresco referens*, she leaves him to his fate; leaves him in the hands of his bloody

ton and Lethington had prepared all matters for the mock trial and acquittal of Bothwell.

* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 72. Jebb, vol. i. p. 262.

executioners! Let us follow her. Does she cover her agitation, her remorse, during the dreadful interval, under the shade of night? No: she partakes of a festival; she joins in a dance and masquerade! and, without the smallest appearance of agitation or discomposure, waits the tremendous signal of her husband's murder!—Merciful Heaven! can such a character have ever existed? Yet such, according to Dr. Robertson, is the gentle, tender-hearted, and affectionate Queen Mary! now the inhumane, deliberate, and remorseless murderers of her husband!

Such is this Historian's system! a theory happily unsupported; opposed by facts, contrary to human nature, and utterly inconsistent with the character which he himself had drawn of Queen Mary!

We shall conclude this Dissertation with an argument, which, in our apprehension,

is conclusive of the innocence of Queen Mary, and that she had not the least foreknowledge of the murder of Lord Darnley.

All the Historians agree, that Lord Darnley was strangled, or suffocated, by stopping his breath * with a napkin; that his body, with that of a servant who slept with him, were brought out of the house and laid on the ground at a little distance, where they were found without any apparent marks of violence on them; and that then the house was blown up with gunpowder.

From these circumstances it is obvious, that whoever were the perpetrators of this horrid affair, or whatever pains they were at to keep themselves concealed, one part of their plan, and a striking one, was, to

* Buchanan, lib. 18. Melvil, Crawford, Keith, Robertson, &c.

leave no room to doubt but that Lord Darnley must have died a violent death, and to proclaim to the whole world that he was murdered, and the murder conducted by persons in power. This appears to have been the *master-stroke* of the whole plan. On whom then was suspicion to point as the author? On whom else but the Queen? It accordingly did so.

Let us suppose then, that the Queen was at the head of this plot, for murdering her husband in this public manner, and let us examine the consistency of her conduct in this light.

We have seen her, only six weeks before, rejecting the proposal of several of the first of her Nobility, of being divorced from Darnley, from her feelings of honour and conscience.

We have seen her, in the most anxious manner, struggling to prevent him from
G 2 leaving

leaving her; and going into foreign parts. Strange this;—she labours to keep him at home, to assassinate him under her own eye, under her care and protection! A thing, it will be allowed, scarcely credible. Yet, let us for a moment suppose that all sense of honour, conscience, and humanity, had on a sudden left her; that she had hardened herself against them, and determined her husband's death. Some regard, however, she must surely have had to public fame; some care of preserving her reputation in the eye of the world, of her friends in France, of her rival Queen Elizabeth.

This might easily have been managed, and her wishes accomplished by Darnley's death, without suspicion of violence. Darnley was at all times in her power; he had long been in a languishing state of health, after a dangerous malady. This was most favourable for her purpose. His sudden death, under these circumstances, would have been nowise surprizing, in whatever manner

manner it might have happened, whether in a natural way or by violence. As it is agreed by all the Historians that he was suffocated, why not rest upon that? When Darnley's breath was stopped, her purpose was effected. Why, contrary to every consideration which common sense could dictate, should the Queen think of proclaiming this murder in the face of day to all the world, attended with every circumstance of horror, and such as to fix suspicion on herself? Humanity, conscience, common sense, all revolt against the supposition of Queen Mary's having the smallest concern in, or foreknowledge of, Lord Darnley's murder.

Let us now turn to the other side; and, on the presumption that Murray and his confederates were the authors, inventors, and executors, as the Queen and her friends always affirmed, of the slaughter of Lord Darnley, let us see in what respect the

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above open manner of executing and publishing it could serve their purpose.

The death of Lord Darnley simply, and of itself, was an object of little importance to Murray and his party: from this event they could have derived no advantage. The Queen's power and authority must have remained the same; or rather, might happen to be strengthened by an accession of power by her marrying again. But as, in the conspiracy against Rizzio by the same party, the chief object in view was the Queen's death, in the condition in which she then was; so in this, from the circumstances of Lord Darnley's public assassination, while under the care and protection of the Queen, the plan of the party was to make the suspicion and odium of the murder fall directly upon her. This suspicion, by a train of other disasters into which they precipitated her, they did fix on her, and thus furnished themselves with the pretence

pretence of rising in rebellion; and, by means of their seditious preachers poisoning the minds of the people against her, they finally wrested the sceptre from her hands, and seized the government of the kingdom.

Had Darnley been taken off by poison, suffocation, or other private way, whatever suspicion might have arisen concerning his death, yet the Queen, as we have already said, might plausibly, and with good reason, have vindicated herself in the eye of the world, by attributing his death to the disease and sickness under which he had so long languished. Lord Darnley's death would have surprised nobody. The main point, however, of the conspirators was, to make his violent death appear as conspicuous as possible, and to remove every pretext of his dying a natural death, while under the charge of the Queen.

Could they have devised a plan that was better calculated for publicly proclaiming Lord Darnley's murder to the whole world, than by blowing up his house with gunpowder? They first made sure of his death by suffocation; that, however, of itself, however agreeable to the Queen, would not have answered the end which the conspirators had in view. To suit their design, the world must know that Lord Darnley was murdered, and when under the Queen's immediate care; this, of course, and by the underhand practices of the conspirators, threw the load of this execrable affair full upon her.

Thus the circumstances attending the death of Lord Darnley, which, with the Queen's enemies, have been held up as strong evidence of her being the author of it, when judged of according to the principles of common sense, appear to be altogether

gether irreconcilable with any rational plan which she could have devised for that end. On the contrary, when deliberately considered, they, in our apprehension, afford an invincible argument of her innocence, and absolute ignorance of it; while at the same time they lead to the strongest presumption, that the plan of Lord Darnley's assassination, with all its circumstances of horror, was framed, devised, and executed by the Earl of Murray and his associates, to pave the way for her destruction and their usurpation.

C H A P. V.

The Conduct and Proceedings of Murray and his Confederates, subsequent to the Murder of Lord Darnley.—Bothwell's Trial and Acquittal by the Management of the Confederates.—Murray and his Associates Conduct in inducing the Queen's Marriage with Bothwell.—Forgery of the Confederates detected.—Apology for the Queen's Marriage.—Treaty at Carberry Hill.—Her Surrender, and Imprisonment in Lochleven, and Bothwell's Retreat to the Castle of Dunbar.

WE proceed to examine the conduct of Murray and his associates subsequent to Lord Darnley's murder.

The King was murdered upon the morning of the 10th of February. On the preceding

ceding day, the Earl of Murray crossed the Forth, in his way to his castle of St. Andrew's. On the road, attended with one confident servant only, his bosom is so overcharged with the great event that was then in agitation, that, unable to contain himself, he bursts out into those ominous words: "This night, ere morning, Lord Darnley shall lose his life *." Thus the criminal, in spite of caution, often discovers himself.

A few

* Lesly's Defence, Anderson, vol. i. p. 75.

The Bishop thus addresses Murray: "Is it unknown, think ye, Erle of Murray, what the Lord Herries said to your face openly, even at your owin table, a few days after the murder was committed? Did he not charge you with the foreknowledge of the same murder?—That you, riding in Fife, and coming, with one of your most assured trusty servants, the said day wharein you departed from Edinburgh, said to him among other talk, This night, ere morning, the Lord Darnley shall lose his life." Bishop Lesly's Defence, as mentioned before, was compiled by him from materials furnished by the Lord Herries. This challenge, then, given to Murray, may be esteemed
as

A few days after the murder, Murray returns to court. There he remains for the space of two months, joins in all the councils during that time, and is in strict intimacy with the Earl of Bothwell.—Let us stop and consider a little.

Upon less important occasions, Murray was in use not to sit idle. On the Queen's intended marriage, he rose in rebellion to oppose it. Soon after, he joined in the conspiracy to assassinate Rizzio. On the present occasion, the murder of the King, he remains perfectly quiet. The universal report loads Bothwell with the murder. Papers posted up in the most public parts of the city, point out him and his friends by name, as the chief actors in it. Murray is still silent.

as coming from the mouth of Lord Herries himself, and it appears never to have been contradicted. The authority therefore is unquestionable. Anderson, vol. i. Preface, p. iv.

The

The Earl of Lennox, the late King's father, loudly accuses Bothwell, and demands that he may be brought to a public trial.

Does Murray rouse himself to support the Earl of Lennox, his relation, in so just a cause? No! he takes the opposite side. He gives his whole aid to stifle justice! The trial and acquittal of Bothwell being planned and concerted, Murray then sets off for France, leaving his trusty confederates, Morton, Lindsay, Lethington, and their associates, to perform, as we shall see, their active parts in the drama.

Did he really believe Bothwell innocent? Was he from his heart the real friend of Bothwell at this time? Was the inveterate enmity, which had constantly subsisted till that period between Murray and his ancient foe, whom he had twice driven into banishment, then extinguished and forgot?

No!

No! it only lay covered — *Manet altamente repositum*. His vengeance lay smothered, ready to burst out against his foe on a proper occasion. But Bothwell was here but the secondary object. The net was spread for the Queen, to involve her in ruin with Bothwell!

In the above interval, between Darnley's murder and Murray's leaving the kingdom (says Bishop Lesly), the whole plan was concerted by him and his confederates; not only of Bothwell's trial and acquittal, but of his subsequent marriage with the Queen, in order to ruin them both.

The first step of the party, in their plan, was to raise the suspicion of the people, and to direct it full against the Earl of Bothwell and the Queen, as guilty of the King's murder. For this purpose, hand-bills or placards are clandestinely pasted up in several places of the city, accusing Bothwell
and

and the Queen as consenting to the murder. That these bills came from Murray and his associates, there is scarce a doubt. While Bothwell himself, Huntly, Argyle, Sir James Balfour, and others, the known friends at that time of the Queen and him, are pointed out by name, there is not the smallest hint thrown out in these clandestine papers that glances at Murray, Morton, Lindsay, or any of their party.

This measure having produced its full effect, the next step was more bold, and required the greatest address. This was, after having raised the cry against Bothwell, to bring him to public trial for the King's murder, and by collusion to have him acquitted.

This was so strong a measure, as must of necessity have thrown reflections upon every person who should have an active hand in it. And here the Reader is desired to re-
collect

collect the part, which, according to the plan laid down for him by Lethington, in the castle of Craigmillar, Murray was to play: he was to behold the proceedings of his friends, without taking an active share in them. This part he faithfully keeps up to. He had withdrawn from the stage the day before Lord Darnley's murder; and matters being now ready for opening a new scene, the mock trial of Bothwell, he again begs leave to retire*.

The

* It may not be improper to give the Reader a view of the principal officers, and other chief persons, who, under Murray, Bothwell, and Morton, managed the affairs of the state at this time.

Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Lord Privy Seal.

His son William Maitland, Principal Secretary of State.

Lord Lindefay.

Mr. Robert Richardson, Commendator of St. Mary Isle, Lord High Treasurer.

Mr. John Spence, Lord Advocate. *Keith, p. 378.*

Sir James Balfour, Lord Clerk Register. *Ibid.*

Sir John Bellenden, Lord Justice Clerk. *Ibid.*

Mr.

The general report having loaded Bothwell with the murder of Darnley, the Earl of Lennox, by several letters, addressed the Queen, to bring Bothwell and other suspected

Mr. Adam Bothwell, the Protestant Bishop of Orkney.

Mr. Robert Pitcairn, Abbot of Dumfermline.

Mr. James Macgill and Mr. Henry Balnaves, Lords of Session.

These were all closely attached to Murray. They were the junto who managed Bothwell's trial, and afterwards joined Morton in his rebellion, and imprisoning the Queen in Lochleven. They composed Murray's secret council. *Keith*, p. 452. And lastly, they accompanied Murray and Morton to England, and, together with George Buchanan, were their assistants in their accusation and proceedings against the Queen at York and Westminster. *Anderson*, vol. iv. p. 35. *Goodall*, vol. ii. p. 109.

The following acts shew the high degree of power and favour these leaders enjoyed under the Queen.

In the parliament held on the 14th of April, two days after Bothwell's trial, we find the following grants :

1. Ratification of the earldom of Murray, and other lands, to the Earl of Murray.

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2. Rati-

spected persons to trial *. The Queen accordingly gives orders for trying Bothwell, as guilty of the murder ; and, by a letter of the 24th of March, requests Lennox to repair to Edinburgh, with his friends, the approaching week †.

After this we find the Earl of Murray present at court, and assisting in council, until the 9th day of April, two days before Bothwell's trial was to proceed, when, having obtained leave of the Queen, he departed for France. Having lent his assistance in preparing matters for Bothwell's trial, which was soon to follow, he leaves his faithful actors, Morton and Lethington, to perform the active part of the drama.

On the 28th of March, we find the Queen desiring the advice of her nobles

* Keith, p. 372.

† Ibid. p. 373.

2. Ratification to Sir Richard Maitland, the Secretary's father, of the barony of Blyth.

3. Ratification to the Earl of Morton. *Keith,*
p. 379.

and privy council; and the act of council of that day ordains trial to be taken against Bothwell, upon the 12th day of April following *, before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh. Besides the above letter of the Queen to Lennox, of the 24th of March, desiring his immediate presence, with his friends, at Edinburgh, the act directs public intimation to be made to the Earl, to attend on the said 12th of April, the day of trial.

Lennox, in consequence of these intimations, sets out from his house near Dumbarton, which was but forty miles distant from Edinburgh, and comes to Stirling; from whence he writes to the Queen upon the 11th of April, the very night before the trial, excusing himself for not appearing there, on account, as he pretends, of his falling sick on his journey; at the same time he complains of the

* Keith, p. 374.

shortness of time allowed him for convening his friends, and requests the day of trial to be adjourned. This sudden change and resolution of the Earl of Lennox coming rather too late, the trial notwithstanding did proceed.

I make no scruple to affirm, that the whole procedure respecting the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, appears to be the result of a premeditated scheme, contrived to have him acquitted, and the whole managed by Morton, Lindsay, and others of Murray's party. The Earl of Argyle, in right of his hereditary office of Lord Justice General, presided at the trial; but, as the custom was, assessors or assistants, of whom the most part were lawyers, were appointed to sit in judgment with him. The assistant judges appointed for the trial were the four following persons: The Lord Lindsay, one of the principal conspirators with Morton in the murder of Rizzio; the Abbot of Dunfer-

Dunfermline ; Mr. James Macgill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, Lords of Session ; the whole four known confidents of Murray and Morton, and the persons who soon after accompanied their patrons, Murray and Morton, to England, acting as commissioners in the proceedings against their Sovereign for this very murder, of which they now were pleased to acquit Bothwell *. Before these judges the Earl of Bothwell appeared in court, on the 12th April, accompanied by his confident the Earl of Morton, who stood impannelled with him † ; and none appearing to make good the charge or accusation, Bothwell in consequence was acquitted. It may be said that it was the jury, and not the judges, who here acquitted Bothwell. It is true, the verdict of the jury found him not guilty ; but as the Earl of Lennox had publicly protested in court, that the trial

* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 35. and Good. vol. ii. p. 109.

† Keith, p. 377.

should not proceed, until he could attend with his friends, these judges ought to have adjourned the procedure. So ended this mock trial *.

Another

* Had Lennox with his witnesses appeared, it is even said, that the party who managed the trial were prepared with a shift or contrivance for eluding a proof, by casting the indictment against Bothwell altogether, as proceeding upon a manifest error. The indictment bears, that the murder of Darnley was on the 9th of February; whereas it was a known fact, that it actually happened on the 10th of February, at two in the morning. Mr. Hume insinuates as much as if the Queen had been accessory to the above contrivance. But I apprehend the argument arising from this fact, when considered, turns directly the other way, and against Morton, and the party who then directed the trial, as we have shown above. Whatever the Queen's inclination might have been, surely it will not be believed, that she was so much conversant in the quirks and subtleties of the law, as to know that an error in an indictment would cast it altogether. To whom then shall we impute this contrivance? To the officers of court only, whose proper business it was to direct this matter; and who these officers were, we have already shown, viz. Spence Lord Advocate, or Attorney

Another step was necessary; which was, to get Bothwell's trial and acquittal solemnly ratified by parliament. This was no difficult matter: Murray's friends and partisans were powerful there; they accordingly carried through that affair without opposition.

Having thus laboured successfully to induce the Queen to the belief of the Earl of Bothwell's innocence, Murray, before he withdrew himself from the scene of action, had not only planned, but had put in motion his great engine, to decoy the Queen into the net spread for her destruction. This was the famous *Bond*, signed by the nobles who had attended in parliament in favour of Bothwell. This Bond asserts the Earl of Bothwell's innocence. The nobles who

torney for the crown, and Sir John Bellenden, the Justice-Clerk, both of them creatures of Murray's, and soon after promoted to be members of his secret council.

subscribe it, promise to support and stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and they with one voice recommend him to the Queen, as the most proper person she could chuse for a husband. It concludes thus:

“ And in case any will presume, directly or
 “ indirectly, to hinder or disturb the said
 “ marriage, we shall notwithstanding take
 “ part and fortify the said Earl (Bothwell)
 “ to the said marriage, so far as it may
 “ please our said sovereign Lady to allow,
 “ and therein shall spend and bestow our
 “ lives and goods, against all that live or
 “ die may, *as we shall answer to God*, and
 “ on our own fidelity and conscience.
 “ And in case we do in the contrary,
 “ never to have reputation or credit in
 “ no time hereafter, but to be accounted
 “ *unworthy and faithless traitors* *.”

It is scarcely possible for the wit of man to frame words more binding, by every tie

* Anderson, vol. i. p. 111.

human and divine, than those of the above Bond, or devised with more force, to induce the Queen to believe that this marriage was agreeable to her people: yet what a shocking reflection upon the human heart is it, to think, that the devisers of this Bond, Morton, Lindsay, and their party, the ringleaders in this association, should, within little more than a month of this solemn deed, rise in arms against their Sovereign, head a rebellion, dethrone and imprison her, upon this very pretext, "That by her ungodlie and dishonorable proceeding, in a *private marriage* with Bothwell *suddenly* and unprovocatively, it is certain she was privy, art and part, of the murder of the King *."

The present age has little perhaps to boast, with respect to its virtue and morals; yet, however deficient in these it may

* Act of Murray's Secret Council, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 64.

be,

be, at least it feels some sense of honour and shame, to which the Saturnian age of Elizabeth appears not to have had the smallest regard.—I proceed to the history and execution of this *infamous Bond*, which, says the Historian justly, leaves a deeper stain, than any occurrence of that age, on the honour and character of the nation.

We have said, that before Murray left the court, he had planned this Bond. He even went a step further, he put his name to it, in order to induce others of the nobility to subscribe it. This I shall prove by and by. For this purpose Murray left the Bond in the hands of his confederates, Morton and Lethington, to be kept secret, and to be exhibited, upon a proper occasion, to be signed by others of the nobility.

This occasion soon happened.

On the 19th of April, the parliament was dissolved, having first ratified Bothwell's

well's trial and acquittal. That night the Earl of Bothwell having invited the whole nobles who had attended in parliament and ratified his acquittal, to an entertainment, since known by the name of *Ainslie's Supper*; there, after drinking freely, the spirits of the company being raised, Bothwell and his friends produced the Bond, already signed by the Earl of Murray, and solicited the nobles to sign the same. They had already ratified his acquittal in parliament, and testified his innocence; this was but a step further, and in his situation, no doubt, Bothwell, Morton, and their associates, would insinuate the Queen's tacit approbation of this measure. The example being previously set by Murray, and now by his friends, the Bond was handed about, and signed by the whole company, excepting one nobleman, the Earl of Eglington, who, to his honour (according to the copy of the Bond in the Cotton Library)

brary), subscribed not, but tacitly withdrew from the meeting.

This, according to the most authentic authority, is the plain, genuine history of this famous Bond. I shall now examine the account given of this affair by Murray and Morton, and adopted by the writers on their side.

In the letter from the English commissioners at York, 11th October 1568, they write to Queen Elizabeth as follows:

The Earl of Murray, and his colleagues,
 “ sent unto us the Lord of *Lethingtoun*,
 “ *James Macgill, and George Buchanan*,
 “ *which, in private and secret conference*
 “ *with us, not as commissioners as they pro-*
 “ *tested, shewed unto us a copy of a Bond,*
 “ bearing date the 19th of April 1567, to
 “ the which most of the Lords and Coun-
 “ fellows

“fellors of Scotland have put to their hand,
“more from fear than any liking they had
“of the same: which Bond contained two
“special points, the one a declaration of
“Bothwell’s purgation (acquittal) of the
“murder of Lord Darnley, and the other
“a general consent to his marriage with
“the Queen, as the law and her own
“liking should allow. And yet in proof
“that they did it not willingly, they pro-
“cured a *warrant*, which was shown to us,
“bearing date the 19th of April, signed
“with the *Queen’s hand*, whereby she gave
“them license to agree to the same;
“affirming, that before they had such
“warrant, there was none of them that
“did or would set to their hands, saving
“only the Earl of Huntly.”—It proceeds
thus: “The Parliament was the occasion
“that so many Lords were assembled,
“which being all invited to a supper by
“Bothwell, were induced, after supper,
“more for fear than otherways, to subscribe
“to

“ to the said Bond, two hundred harkebu-
 “ fiers being in the court and about the
 “ chamber door where they supped, which
 “ were all at Bothwell’s devotion; which
 “ the said Lords so misliked, that most of
 “ them left the town by four of the clock
 “ next morning, without taking leave.”

Such is the tale told by Murray and his party to the English commissioners at York, by *Lethington*, and *George Buchanan*. A tale false in every particular (as we shall prove), and supported by a most daring forgery, the Queen’s warrant and consent, which, though mentioned in the above letter, was suppressed after this, and withdrawn by Murray, and did not venture to shew its face through the whole course of the conferences before Queen Elizabeth and her commissioners and Queen Mary’s commissioners at Westminster.

At York this paper, we see, is shewn by *Lethington* and *Buchanan* to the English
 commiss

commissioners, *privately, and in secret conference, not as commissioners*, as they protested. This caution is very remarkable. We shall see their reasons for it.

Queen Elizabeth, after this, calling the commissioners on both sides to attend her Council at Westminster, there, as has been related, the whole evidences which could infer the least presumption of guilt against Queen Mary, are produced by Murray. This very material writing, *the warrant* importing the *Queen's consent* to the Nobles for signing the Bond, will, no doubt, be thought to have figured conspicuously in the black list of evidences there produced against her, which are particularly enumerated and set down in the Journals of the proceedings at Westminster; yet, to our astonishment, no such paper, from first to last, during the whole course of the conferences, appears. This is a striking fact. Let us account for Murray's keeping back
and

and suppressing so material a piece of evidence in his favour, which had been shewn (privately indeed) at York.

The credibility of Mary's pretended Love-letters, which were produced by the rebels, depended entirely on Murray and Morton's own affirmation, which could not be directly refuted, while Mary was denied to see, or have copies of them. It was a different matter with regard to this paper, called the Queen's Consent to the Bond. If the Queen had ever signed such a writing, it must have been known to the whole Nobles: it was a justification of them for signing the Bond, and a direct evidence of the Queen's approbation of their doing so. — If otherways, if the writing was false, what would have been the consequence of Murray's openly producing so barefaced a piece of imposition? No other than this, that Mary's commissioners then at London, the Bishop of Ross, the Lords Boyd, Living-

Livingston, and Herries, who all had signed the Bond, must instantly have got notice of, and would publicly have detected this notorious forgery.

Besides, to have produced such a paper, would have been an appeal for the truth of their story to the whole Scottish Nobility, who had signed the Bond of association. Such, therefore, of Murray's adherents, who had joined with him upon honest principles, and in the belief of his sincerity, must, from so impudent an imposition, have seen his views, and the base means by which he prosecuted his design; and must therefore have exposed and abandoned him. Here the eagerness of the forger, as in the act of Privy Council *, was, upon second thought, prudently restrained; as this experiment was judged too dangerous to be ventured upon, where so many

* *Vide supra, p. 82, et seq.*

witnesses would have detected the imposture.

To close the whole matter, this forgery, the Queen's warrant or consent to the Nobles to sign the Bond, was finally suppressed, even by Buchanan himself, in his History, published a few years afterwards; who contradicts the whole story told by him and Lethington at York, as mentioned above. I shall set down his words in a note *. There he, in express words, affirms, that

* Bothuelius nobiles omnes supremi ordinis qui aderant (aderant autem permulti) ad cœnam invitat. Ibi solutis ad hilaritatem animis omnium, in præsentia autem patebat, ut cum Reginæ ambiret nuptias, libello quam ea de re confecerat, illi subscriberent, id sibi, et ad principis voluntatem conciliandum utile, et apud cæteros homines honorificum futurum. Re tam subita et inopinata, omnes attoniti, cum neque mœstitiam dissimulare possent, nec abnuere quod petatum esset auderent, paucis qui Reginæ animum exploratum habebant, præeuntibus reliqui ignari quantus assentatorum numerus foret, alii aliis suspecti omnes subscribunt.

Postridie

that the whole Nobility, at Bothwell's entertainment, signed the Bond *upon his own solicitation only*, because it might be useful to him, and the means of prevailing with the Queen to listen to his proposal. Upon which, says our Author, they all signed the Bond in favour of Bothwell, without seeing any previous writing or consent from the Queen, or without any force being

Postridie cum inter se quid egissent retractarent, quidam ingenui professi sunt, nisi Reginae existimassent rem gratam fore, se nunquam assensuros: nam preterquam, quod res parum honesta, et publice damnosa esset, periculum quoque fore ut si, orta discordia, Bothuelius rejiceretur, ne ipsis aliquando daretur crimine, *quod Reginam prodidissent atque ad nuptias parum honorificas ipsam compulissent.*

Igitur dum res integra esset, ejus voluntatem explorandum, scriptumque manu ipsius signatum impetrandum: quo scripto sibi, quod de nuptiis actum ab illis esset, gratum esse ostenderet. Id facile impetratum comiti Argathelii custodiendum, consensu omnium traditur. Buchan. Lib. xviii. p. 355. Rud.

used. Buchanan *adds*, that the *next day*, the Nobles, on reflecting that it might afterwards be laid to their charge, that they had betrayed the Queen, and *compelled* her into an infamous marriage, solicited and obtained a writing under her hand, expressing that what they had done was agreeable to her. Thus Buchanan directly confutes his former story, told by him at York, of the previous consent of the Queen shewn to the Nobles before they signed the Bond.

As to this *latter writing*, which Buchanan says the Lords solicited from the Queen, the *next day* after they had signed the Bond in favour of Bothwell, Buchanan is in a gross mistake. That writing is still extant, and is annexed to the copy of the Bond in the Cotton Library; it bears date the 13th of May, near a month after the date of the Bond at Bothwell's supper, which

which was the 19th of April *. The fact is this: On the eve of the Queen's marriage, the 13th of May, the Nobles who had been

* For the satisfaction of the reader, the following is a copy of the above writing, which is annexed to Cecil's copy of the Nobles Bond in the Cotton Library; with this title: "To this (Bond) the Queen gave her consent † the night before her marriage, whilk was on the 14th day of May and year forsaide, in this form:

"The Queen's Majestie having seen and considered the Bond above written, promittis upon the word of a Princess, that she nor her successors fall nevir impute as a cryme or offence to any of the personis subscrivours thair of, thair consent and subscription to the matter above written, thairin conteinit, nor that thay, nor thair heirs, fall nevir be callit nor accusit thairfor, nor zit fall the said consent be any derogatioun nor spell to thair honour, nor thay esteimit undeutifull subjects for doing thair of, notwithstanding whatsomevir thing can tend or be allegit in the contrary." Cotton Lib. Calig. C. 1. folio 1.

† The tenor of the paper shews the direct contrary, and that she gave no consent to the Nobles to sign the Bond, though she pardoned them afterwards for signing it.

induced by Murray and his party, and by the sollicitation of Bothwell, to sign the above infamous Bond, being afraid of being afterwards called to account for joining in the vile association, prevailed on the gentle disposition of the Queen, at the favourable minute, when to her it appeared that the marriage was agreeable to her people, to sign a writing, not, as Buchanan falsely says, expressing, that their signing the Bond of association was agreeable to her, but granting a pardon to them for any challenge or accusation that might afterwards be brought against them for seducing and betraying her into that marriage.

Here the truth bursts out.

If the Queen had signed a previous consent or warrant to the Nobles to sign the Bond, there could have been no occasion for them to have solicited (as Buchanan is forced to confess) from her a pardon for their signing the Bond, at the distance of
a month

a month after, as the writing itself, on record, shews.

From the whole chain of evidence, which, from the mouths of the confederates themselves, clearly detects as gross a forgery as ever was imposed on the public, I can scarce imagine there are any persons, but such as are resolved to shut their eyes against the light, who will not see the base practices and forgeries of those men, who were combined against their unfortunate Sovereign, to destroy her, and to usurp the government of her kingdom.

I have been more full in the investigation of this matter, which appears to me to have escaped the observation of the writers on the Queen's side, as it proves, to demonstration, a foul attempt made by Murray and his confederates (though privately, and for good reasons, afterwards buried in silence), by a manifest forgery, to cut off

from her, the strong evidence of her being led into the fatal marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, by the sollicitation of her whole Nobility. This attempt has been revived by Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume, who, from the same ground, have made a very formidable attack against the Queen; but as they have erected their battery upon the foundation of the Queen's previous consent, now proved to be a falsehood, the whole baseless fabric must sink to the bottom, and lie buried under its own ruins.

As to the story recited by Dr. Robertson, as told by Sir James Melvill, that he shewed the Queen a letter from several of her friends in England, representing what would be the fatal effects of her marriage with Bothwell, which she disregarded; and that she, communicating the matter to the Earl, obliged Melvill to leave the court for some time; it will be observed, that Melvill likewise asserts, that Lord Herries remonstrated

monstrated to the Queen against the marriage, which, he says, was before she went to Stirling on the 22d of April. Now, as to this last fact, we have convincing evidence to the contrary. The Bond of association of the Nobility was signed by Lord Herries amongst the rest, and we find him a witness to the marriage articles which soon followed. Dr. Robertson allows, "That, perhaps, Melvill" "may have committed some mistake as to" "what regards Lord Herries." He adds, "He could not well be mistaken with regard" "to what himself did." True, indeed, Melvill could not there mistake; but a pensionary of Queen Elizabeth*, and the professed

* Sir John Melvill, the father of Sir James, was condemned, anno 1548, by the Scots Parliament, for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the English court.

The son laid claim to their favour on the same account.

Sir James, when in France, was graciously taken into the Queen's service; yet, at this very time, he privately engaged in the service of Sir Nicholas Throgmor-

professed friend and apologist of Murray, could invent the whole from his own brain,

Throgmorton the English Ambassador at Paris, from whom he obtained a letter of recommendation to Secretary Cecil in the following words: "I have not found," says Throgmorton, "any in my opinion so meet to be used and entertained for *the Queen's Majesty's service*, as James Melvill*." For these services he obtained a pension from Queen Elizabeth.—While his brother, Sir Robert, acted as the Queen's Ambassador and Resident at London, our author James had attached himself closely to Murray. When the last became Regent, Melvill openly joined that party against the Queen. When he heard of Murray's having left France in his return to Scotland, he was deputed by them to meet him with their congratulations at Berwick; and was in great confidence with Murray†; and continued in the party in Lennox and the other Regent's time‡, in opposition to the Queen, who had raised him and his family, after his father's treason and forfeiture.—The learned and industrious Goodall has brought unquestionable proof of Melvill's duplicity and under-hand dealing against Queen Mary. See his Preface to first volume.

* Goodall, Preface, p. 18.

† Memoirs, Glasgow edition, p. 196.

‡ Ibid. p. 205.

to vindicate the party, and to show his own importance, as he has done upon other occasions.

I now proceed to lay open a new and daring piece of villany, as artful and deep in its contrivance, and as bold in the execution, as ever was attempted.

And, in the first place, it is allowed by all parties, that the Earl of Bothwell, by his own weight or influence, never could have induced the Nobles to sign the above Bond. And for the story told by Lethington and Buchanan, and adopted latterly by Dr. Robertson, of Bothwell's intimidating them, by surrounding the house with armed men, it is totally incredible, that in the midst of the city of Edinburgh, Bothwell could have compelled the whole Lords of Parliament to sign this writing contrary to their will. Had this even been the case, would they not have retracted their consent the moment they got out of his power?

This

This they never did. Mr. Hume, willing enough to adopt any fact against Mary, is ashamed to countenance this absurd tale of the Nobles being intimidated by force to sign the Bond, and therefore omits it altogether. Even Buchanan himself, as we have seen, repudiates the story, as formerly told by Lethington and himself at York, and in his History, which he gave to the public a few years after, he publicly retracts the whole.

With respect to the Earl of Murray, his influence and power over the whole kingdom, at this time, was unrivalled. Besides his affinity to the Queen, being her natural brother, Murray was at the head of the whole Reformers, both Clergy and Laity: and by the influence of the former, the body of the people were at his devotion. At this time, too, he was, and since Rizzio's death had constantly been, at the head of the Queen's Councils.

We

We have already seen his conduct, and traced his steps, to the trial and acquittal of Bothwell, when he thought proper to retire from the scene of action, leaving to his bold and trusty associates to follow out the plan he had laid down.

Before Murray retired, he saw the mine dug for the Queen's destruction. He saw the train laid for decoying and precipitating her into the disastrous marriage with Bothwell, by the infamous Bond which himself had devised, for the Nobles to join in addressing the Queen to take that fatal step. He well foresaw, that the Earl of Bothwell, by himself, would have had neither weight nor influence with the Nobles to persuade them to sign such a Bond. Murray's power and influence, alone, was equal to that attempt. He gave it accordingly.

He could not himself, consistently with his plan, be on the spot to act openly in the
I affair.

affair. He saw the Bond made out; *he signed it*, and thus gave his strongest approbation to it, and then set out for France, leaving it in the hands of his able and trusty associates, Morton and Lethington, and the ambitious Bothwell, their *dupe*, to be ready on a fit occasion, to be exhibited to the whole party of Murray's friends, and others of the Nobility, to be signed by their example.

I mean to enter more particularly into the history of this Bond of the Nobles, which the writers on both sides have hitherto considered as very mysterious and obscure. Dr. Robertson observes, that amidst all the altercations of the two parties, this unworthy transaction is seldom mentioned. "Conscious, on both sides," says he, "that in this particular their conduct "could ill bear examination, and would "redound little to their fame, they always
" touch

“touch upon it unwillingly, and seem desirous that it should remain in darkness, or be buried in oblivion.”

The original Bond itself is now lost. What remains of it, are two copies, one of which, attested by Sir James Balfour, is in the Scots College at Paris; the other copy, authenticated by Secretary Cecil, is preserved in the Cotton Library. These two copies agree *verbatim* in the words of the Bond, but differ materially from each other, in the names of the subscribers to the Bond, Cecil's copy containing several names which are suppressed in that of Sir James Balfour. As I have already given the history of the original Bond from its date and subscription, I shall now follow it out, together with that of each of the two copies, in order to establish the proper degree of credit to be given to these last. And as the person who makes the principal figure

figure in this affair is Sir James Balfour, I shall give the outlines of the character of this extraordinary person.

Amongst the characters of that flagitious age, none comes forward with a bolder step than Sir James Balfour. As a lawyer, his knowledge appears to have been considerable. As a politician, he was bold, acute, artful, and unprincipled. By his address, and by the benignity of the Queen, he was made one of the Supreme Judges, and rose to be President of the Court of Session. Macgill, who was Lord Register, being banished the kingdom as accessory to Rizzio's assassination, Balfour, by the favour of the Queen, succeeded to him in that high office. He was by Murray and Lethington taken into their Secret Councils at the Castle of Craigmillar. He framed, and ingrossed with his own hand, the bond or indenture for taking off Lord Darnley,

Darnley *, and was himself in the secret of that horrid murder †. On Bothwell's coming into favour, he attached himself closely to him, and was appointed his Deputy-governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.

On Morton's rising in arms against the Queen and Bothwell, Balfour turned against his benefactors, joined Morton and his party, and gave his aid in driving them from the capital.

Bothwell had kept his most valuable papers in a green velvet desk in the Castle, in which was the indenture for the taking off the Lord Darnley, and likewise the Bond signed by the Nobility, recommending Bothwell as a proper spouse to the Queen. Balfour now broke open Both-

* Ormiston's confession, Arnott's Trials.

† Anderson, vol. i. Preface, p. 64.--Melvill, p. 191, 192.

well's repository committed to his charge, and made himself master of those papers*. A full copy of the Bond, with the subscriptions, he put into the hands of his new friends.

Could Murray and his associates have suppressed the Bond altogether, it would have been their wish; but the facts regarding this important Bond were so recent, and so universally known to the whole Nobility, that they rather chose a plan to counteract the force of its testimony in favour of the Queen: that was by forging the writing already mentioned, importing the Queen's *consent* and *warrant* to the Nobility to sign the Bond. In the management of this affair, the noted *Buchanan*, as we have seen, makes a principal figure.

* Walsingham's letter to Randolph, Cotton Lib. Calig. folio 6. Goodall's Preface to Balfour's Practices.

The Bond, and this consent, are put into his hands*, to shew and explain them to the English commissioners at York. I again beg leave to recite their words. In their letter to Queen Elizabeth they thus write: "They (Buchanan and Lethington) shewed us a copy of a Bond, to which most part of the Lords and Counsellors have put to their hands." By thus mentioning in *general*, that most of the Lords and Counsellors had signed the Bond, the *particular subscriptions*, we see, are kept out of view. By this management their present purpose was served: but they had a more accurate and strict scrutiny still to undergo. Queen Elizabeth desired to have the conferences to proceed under her own eye, and under the management of Cecil.

* Buchanan was at this time custodiary of those papers, for the purpose of exhibiting them at York, and was writing, at that very time, his infamous Libel, or Detection, against the Queen, which was published in London soon after.

They are accordingly adjourned from York to Westminster. A new expedient was now to be thought of, with regard to the Bond, and its concomitant, the pretended consent of the Queen for signing it. These papers could not bear the light; they must not now be exposed before such acute examiners as Queen Elizabeth and Cecil. They accordingly are kept back, and during the course of the conferences at Westminster they never are mentioned; nor did this famous Bond, or consent of the Queen, ever make their appearance before the commissioners there. The penetrating Cecil saw the design, and likewise the reason, of this suppression, and gave way to it *. As a friend, however, he desired to see the Bond, which he knew

* The public owes the first discovery of this masterpiece of fraud to the learned Mr. Whitaker, who, with great acuteness, has penetrated Murray's scheme, and clearly detected the whole scene of iniquity. I follow Mr. Whitaker in this investigation.

had been privately shewn to the English commissioners at York. Here a new person makes his appearance on the stage: *John Read, the amanuensis of Buchanan*, who had the charge of the writings*, is sent to Secretary Cecil with a *copy* of the Bond, but without the subscriptions. Cecil, however, was not to be imposed upon, as the commissioners at York had been. He saw the intended fraud, and Murray's contrivance for concealing his own subscription. Murray was still in the hands of a friend. Cecil takes the copy of the Bond from *John Read*, written, as it bears, in his *own hand*: the subscriptions, however, are wanting. Cecil is de-

* John Read, in the MS. of Calderwood's History in the University Library at Glasgow, is thus designed, "Servitor and Writer to Mr. George Buchanan."

The MS. translation of Buchanan's History, also at Glasgow, is said to have been made "by John Read Esquyar, Servitor and Writer to Mr. G. Buchanan." Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 344.

firous to see them; yet to call for them, was to put Murray on his guard, and would not answer the end *. They who had suppressed, might vary and omit.—He must act (to use the words of Mr. Whitaker, whom I follow) to the present moment. He detains the amanuensis. He questions him about the subscriptions. He makes his memory supply, by a list, which he made him take down, what his pen had omitted. And in that list, which he (Cecil) annexed to *Read's copy* of the Bond, which is still preserved in the Cotton Library, there is written by Cecil's hand thus: "The names of such of the *Nobility* as " subscribed the Bond, so far as John " Read might remember." This throws light on the whole. Murray's name is the first in Read's list †.

From whence did Read derive the names of the subscribers? From that very

* Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 345.

† Anderson, vol. i.
copy

copy of the Bond which was now in his own custody, to which were annexed the subscriptions, and of which he had been taking a transcript just before, without the subscriptions. He therefore could not be mistaken in the names which he mentioned as there. He could least of all be mistaken in the leading name; the very first at the head of the subscriptions. He might omit names that were actually there; but he could not mention any as there, which were not so. And he could not possibly mention a name, as the very *first* of all there, which was not there at all. Yet, the very *first name* in John Read the rebel Secretary's list is *Murray's*. This is very astonishing. This is little known*; but
it

* It is not from want of knowledge, that this important fact, now first laid open by the penetration of Mr. Whitaker, has been overlooked. It is difficult for an honest man to put himself in the situation and circumstances of a knave, so as at first to enter into his plan. Murray, from his outsetting, had wrapped

it is very certain, and ought to be known to all. It lays open a large scene of villany in that singular man, who affected in general a character the very reverse of what he merited.—“ In this, and in all
 “ his conduct, he appears the most finished
 “ hypocrite that human viciousness working
 “ upon human wisdom has ever engendered *.

“ He had gone off the stage just as the
 “ curtain drew up, at the seizure of Mary,
 “ and at the murder of Darnley. The one
 “ retirement reflects a strong light upon the
 “ other. He went away only one day

* Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 343, et seq.

himself close in his cloke of sanctity; he was not at first sight to be detected. He was cautious and guarded in every step. That excess, that studied guardedness, now betrays him. It awakens suspicion; it calls for a retrospection of the conduct of this arch-hypocrite; and we now gradually trace him through all his doubling, through all his mazes, until his last master-stroke of consummate knavery!

“ before

“ before the murder ; he went away several
“ before the seizure.

“ He then retired on the 9th of April,
“ but he signed the bond which produced
“ the seizure before his departure ; he was
“ therefore the first who signed it. So eager
“ was he to push on a business, of which
“ he reaped all the advantage afterwards ;
“ and so long had the plan been in agita-
“ tion amongst Murray and his associates.”

Let us return to Sir James Balfour. When he gave a copy of the Bond of the Nobles to the rebels, he took care to retain in his hands the original Bond. That we have seen was carefully kept secret during all the time of the conferences : and while the rebels were pouring in their forged evidences against the Queen, the Bond with the names of the Nobles, that important paper which belonged to her, and would have served to justify her, was stolen and kept from her
by

by Balfour, and is now suppressed by Murray, the publication of which, his subscription being subjoined to it, would have pointed out his premeditated design of betraying her into the ill-fated marriage with Bothwell.

That Murray, I say, for his own sake, should have suppressed the Bond, is not to be wondered at; but that Balfour, who owed every thing to the Queen, by whose liberality he had been raised from obscurity to honour and opulence, should have kept up the Bond, and lent his aid to ruin his sovereign and benefactress, shews such depravity of heart, as can only be paralleled by his associates in that flagitious age. At the distance of a dozen of years after the conferences in England broke up, when it could be of no use, a copy of the Bond, with the omission of some of the subscriptions to it, was sent by Balfour to Queen Mary, in a letter dated the 30th of
January

January 1581. About the same time likewise, a copy of it was lodged in the Scots college of Paris, signed and attested by Sir James Balfour. This last copy was probably given by him to the Scots college when in France, where he was in February 1581, as we see from Secretary Walsingham's letter of that date to Randolph*.

But it may be asked, For what reason did Sir James Balfour keep up the original Bond with the subscriptions? This writing belonged to the Queen; why did he withhold it from her, and now, at the distance of twelve years, only send her a copy? As he appeared careful to have it preserved, why, in place of the original Bond, does he deposit only a copy, attested by himself, in the Scots college? The reason is obvious; he had signed the original Bond himself, which he now wanted to conceal;

* Cotton Lib. Calig. C. 6. Goodall's Preface to Sir James Balfour's Practices.

he could operate upon the copies that were to be attested by himself only.

He garbled the subscriptions to his mind, to serve his party.

By this means Balfour's attested copy in the Scots college differs, in the subscriptions, from Cecil's copy, from the hands of John Read. The names of several of the Lords which are in this last, are suppressed by Balfour in his attested copy. Cecil's copy bears the name of Murray, as the first who subscribed the Bond, as also that of Glencairn; and in the instructions signed by nineteen of the first peers of Scotland, 12th of September 1568, and sent to Queen Mary's Commissioners, the names of Morton, Sempil, Lindsay, and Sir James Balfour himself, are all mentioned as having subscribed the Bond *.—In Sir James Balfour's attested copy, the names of his

* Queen Mary's Register. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361.
friends,

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If it shall be asked, Why the names of those peers are omitted by Balfour, which are pointedly set down in Read's list given by him to Cecil? the same reason may be given that made him suppress his own name: they were his friends, the chiefs of the party against the Queen. The name of Murray, particularly, who had left Scotland ten days before Bothwell's supper, would have led to the detection of the premeditated scheme of the party.

But why did not Balfour then likewise suppress his friend Morton's name in his copy? For this good reason: In January 1581, when he sent his copy of the Bond to Queen Mary, and recorded it in the

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2 Scots

Scots college, Morton had become his enemy, and the enemy of all his former friends. He had put to death Kirkaldie, and persecuted to despair and death Lethington, and made Balfour himself take refuge in France. So that he was then deserted, and universally detested by the whole party. That Sir James Balfour at this time had become his bitter enemy, we have a certain testimony, from Secretary Walsingham's letter to Randolph, 3d February 1580-1; wherein he tells him, that Sir James Balfour is brought from France to produce evidence against Morton at his trial, at this time*.

But the Peers, in their instructions above quoted, do not mention Murray. True. Neither do they mention Glencairn, who also signed the Bond. The Peers, when they presented their instructions in Sep-

* The time of the Earl of Morton's trial was in June 1581.

tember 1568, were not possessed of the Bond. They spoke from memory only, and they name only three of the rebel party, with a general reference to the whole. The Bond was signed *after supper*, late, on the 19th, or, according to Sir James Balfour's attested copy, early on the morning of the 20th of April; *animis omnium ad bilaritatem solutis*; after drinking very heartily, as we at any time in Scotland might explain the phrase. The circumstance of Murray being at the time out of Scotland, might make the Peers doubtful, from memory, as to their seeing his signature, and therefore cautious as to their naming him particularly, until they could do so with more certainty. They soon after did so. Soon after the conferences in England broke up, the learned Bishop of Ross published his Defence of the Honour of his oppressed Sovereign. By that time the Lords of Queen Mary's party had got such intelligence of Murray's
having

having signed the Bond, that the Bishop in his Defence openly addressees Murray thus:
 “ Call you this a voluntary assignation of
 “ the regiment (government) *to you Earl*
 “ *of Murray?*” It then proceeds, “ I ask
 “ then as before of *you*, Why, through the
 “ special fute and procurement of your fac-
 “ tion (meaning Morton and Lindsay), was
 “ Bothwell acquitted? Why did *you*, with
 “ a great number of the Nobility, move
 “ further and worke the said marriage,”
 of the Queen with Bothwell, “ as most
 “ meete and necessary for your Quene?
 “ Why did you, *as by your hand-writing*
 “ *it will appeare*, proffer and promise to
 “ him your faithfull service, and *to her*
 “ your loyall obeifance? Why did none of
 “ *all your faction,*” &c. &c. * The exact-
 ness of the writer, in distinguishing what
 he attributes to the whole party in general,
 and what to Murray in particular, serves

* Defence, p. 38. 42. and 26.—Anderson, vol. i.

to prove the accuracy of his observations, and to give a greater certainty to all.

In Read's or Cecil's list, there is mentioned the Earl of Eglinton, with a very particular circumstance, which shews the accuracy of the writer: The Earl of *Eglinton* (says Read) *subscribed not*, but slipped away. Eglinton was at the supper, but his name is not set down in either of the lists.

I shall conclude this investigation of the history of the Bond, and of the lists of the subscribers of it, with another observation of Mr. Whitaker's, which ought to be weighed in the scale; that is, the assertion of the nobility, the friends of Queen Mary, "That the maist part of the nobilitie, and "*principallie of the usurparis*, gave thir "consent to the Erle Bothwell."

This last is verified by the lists themselves *, from which the following con-

* This was first observed by Mr. Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 353.

clusions result, the importance of which must strike every attentive Reader. 1st, The amazing influence and weight which Murray at this time must have had. 2dly, That the leading steps to the Queen's disastrous marriage with Bothwell, were devised and brought about by Murray and his confederates, as is proved by the preceding evidence.

It is no wonder then, that, according to Dr. Robertson's observation, those nobles who had signed this fatal Bond, should studiously avoid speaking of it. Yet let it also be remarked, that when they thought themselves obliged to do it, they declare the truth, that her Majesty was induced to consent to the marriage, by the Bond subscribed by most of them, and principally by the usurpers *. No wonder they felt remorse in reflecting on the train they had been seduced into, and the consequent

* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361.

ruin of the Queen, of which they had been made the instruments and accomplices, with her enemies ! A strong proof of their sentiments ; and what tends to shew at this day that they were convinced of her innocence, is, that by far the greater part and most eminent of the Scottish nobility, and of the barons and gentry, joined in asserting her innocence, and rose in arms to vindicate her right* ; and would have prevailed
against

* Upon the Queen's escape from Lochleven to the palace of Hamilton, she was immediately joined by far the greatest part, and most powerful of the Scottish nobility and gentry. There is extant in the Cotton Library, the Bond of Association, formed and subscribed by them, in which appear twenty-seven lords, nine bishops, and the most powerful of the barons.—Keith, p. 475. Robertson, vol. i. p. 454. In 1571 and 1572, the loyalists for the Queen had driven the usurpers from the capital of Edinburgh, and were masters of its strong castle, and of most of the fortresses in the kingdom. The Earl of Huntly and the Gordons carried all before them in the North. The Duke of Chattelrault, and the Hamiltons, defeated Sempil,

against the usurpers of her government, but for the infamous interference which Queen Elizabeth made, in supporting them with both money and troops, while with cruel policy she kept the unfortunate Queen Mary her prisoner in England: in return for which, these abandoned slaves sold to her the independency of their country!

From this digression on the history of the Bond of the Scotch nobility, soliciting Queen Mary to marry the Earl of Bothwell, which is a fact of great importance, and at the same time one of the most obscure and dark transactions of that age, I now return to my subject.

After all, it must be confessed that the most exceptionable step in Queen Mary's conduct, appears to be her con-

and commanded in the West; the Lords Maxwell and Herries, with Ker of Ferniehirst, and Scott of Buccleugh, triumphed in the South.—Crawford, p. 262.

senting

senting to marry the Earl of Bothwell, the person aspersed with being concerned in the murder of the Lord Darnley. That Mary believed him innocent, and that the association of the nobility in his favour must have served to confirm her in that opinion, we must allow. To absolve her from any participation of guilt on that account, is no more than doing her justice; at the same time, to acquit her of indiscretion, in suffering herself to be precipitated into so rash and ill-advised a measure, I shall not attempt: that fatal step gave to her enemies, who lay in wait to undo her, every advantage, and hastened her ruin.

The Queen's enemies have made her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell the test or proof of a supposed previous criminal amour between them; hence her accession to the whole crimes with which they have thought proper to load her, is presumed.

However, when the unhappy situation of this ill-fated princess, at that fatal period, is attended to, beset as she then was by a powerful confederacy of the most daring, wicked, and unprincipled of men, by whose traitorous councils she was misled, humanity ought rather to induce us to pity her misfortunes than to aggravate these into crimes. Candour must acknowledge, her enemies even confess, that her virtue and conduct were unblemished and irreproachable from her infancy, until the death of her husband Lord Darnley. It is not therefore so easy to conceive, how a princess, possessed of every grace that could adorn woman, should at once, from the throne of virtue, sink into the abyss of vice, and all from the most violent passion of love, with which it is supposed she was intoxicated.

Mary was then scarce twenty-four years of age, in the full bloom of youth and beauty, while the Earl of Bothwell, at
no

no time remarkable on account of his good looks, was past the meridian of life*.

This

* In the former edition it is said, that Bothwell was at this time declined in the vale of years, supposed about sixty. Our authorities for this were two facts, recorded by Buchanan, which must have been well known to him, and wherein he could have had no bias to warp him from truth. Buchanan relates, that James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell (1544) was rival to the Earl of Lennox, father to Lord Darnley, then a youth, and suitor to the Queen Dowager.—I shall give the words of Buchanan: “*Matheus Stuartus Leviniaë Comes—Huic juveni, in ipso juventæ flore;—lib. 15. cap. 8.—accessit æmulus Jacobus Heburnus Comes Bothueliæ. Is eisdem artibus Reginaë viduæ nuptias ambiebat, et eminebant, in utroque naturæ et fortunæ dotes, magis similes quam æquales: Itaque cum Bothwelius cetera pene par, in omni autem certamine et armorum ludicra meditatione, esset inferior.*” Id. lib. xv. cap. 12.—To corroborate this, Buchanan mentions another fact, that Lady Reres, then an old woman, had been a mistress to the Earl of Bothwell in her youth—“*Reresia, quæ inter pellices Bothwelii fuerat, nunc inclinata ætate ad Lenciniam se contulerat.*”—And again, “*Reresia, mulier et ætate et corpore gravis.*” *Detectio*, p. 2, 3.—James Earl of Bothwell, the husband of Queen Mary,

This in a romance would need explanation,
would at least require more solid, more con-
vincing

was the only Earl of that name in the family. His father was Patrick, and his grandfather Adam. This is proved by a paper N^o IV. in the Appendix. The original is in the archives of the family of Hamilton. Since the former edition of this Inquiry, Lord Hailes, in his Remarks on the History of Scotland, mentions a writing in his possession, which proves, that Patrick, the father of James Earl of Bothwell, died anno 1556. It is thence argued, that James Earl of Bothwell, who married Queen Mary, could not be the person who was suitor to her mother in 1544; and therefore that Buchanan, although cotemporary with the persons, and acquainted with the facts, made a gross mistake in the name of James, in place of Patrick his father, who must have been the suitor to the Queen Dowager.

The late Patrick Lord Elibank, in his Letter to Lord Hailes on his Remarks on the History of Scotland, printed the same year, has cleared up this point. He proves to demonstration, that *Patrick*, the father of James, who died anno 1556, according to Lord Hailes, could not be the suitor of the Queen Dowager. I shall transcribe his words: "He, Patrick, must have
" been a married man as early as the year 1534 at
" furthest, since he had a lawful son, born in wedlock,
" who

vincing proof, than presumptions founded upon an ill-advised marriage, into which, the

“ who succeeded him in his honours and estate anno
 “ 1556, and who was immediately put at the head of
 “ the Scottish army. If therefore Patrick proposed to
 “ marry the Queen Dowager in 1544, he must have
 “ been a widower, loaded with a son and heir, and
 “ therefore could not be the person described by Bu-
 “ chanan as ‘*similis et par* to Lennox, *juvenis in ipso*
 “ *floræ juventæ.*’ ‘ A lad in the dawn or blossom of
 “ youth.’ No part of Buchanan’s narrative can be so
 “ tortured,” continues Lord Elibank, “ as to apply
 “ to Patrick, the father of James. Buchanan, then,
 “ must either mean James, when he mentions him by
 “ name, or the whole story told by him of the rivalry
 “ must be a fiction, which he had no inducement to
 “ make.”

Poor Buchanan! what a blow is ready to fall upon you, from a friend’s arm too! But a generous adversary advances to protect you by warding the blow!

“*Opposuit molem clypei, textitque jacentem.*”

Lord Elibank, with the peculiar acuteness, genius, and candour which distinguished that learned nobleman, has solved the apparent difficulty, and, for the sake of the poet and of truth, hath saved the Historian for this time.

James,

the necessity of the times, and the wicked and deep-laid schemes of a confederacy for her

James, literally, was not Earl of Bothwell when he made suit to Queen Mary's mother in 1544, his father Earl Patrick being then alive. But, says Lord Elibank, it is usual to ascribe to a man, under the title he is chiefly known by, the actions of his youth. Thus we say, Augustus prevailed at Philippi, though he was not Augustus till several years after: The Prince of Conde won the battle of Rocroi, though then only Duc d'Enguienne. Now to reconcile this with the Historian's narrative; James Hepburn, afterwards Earl of Bothwell, *similis et par* to the Earl of Lennox, in 1544, then in the dawn or blossom of youth (twenty or twenty-one years of age), was suitor to the Queen-mother. On his father's death, in 1556, he must have been thirty-two or thirty-three years of age, at which time (say the instructions to Queen Mary's ambassador in France, which probably were dictated by Bothwell himself, on his marriage with the Queen), "although he was of *very young age*,
 "yet was he chosen out as most fit of the whole
 "nobility to be lieutenant-general upon the Border,
 "with the whole charge, to defend as well as to
 "affail."—Although thirty-two or thirty-three years of age, properly speaking, cannot be said to be a very young man, yet surely a general of that age, at the
 head

her destruction, may with more reason, and much more humanity, be supposed

head of an army, may not improperly be said to be a young general. Agreeable therefore to Buchanan's Narrative, James Hepburn, the rival of Lennox in 1544, who, at his father's death in 1555, might be thirty-three, must have been forty-four years old when he married Queen Mary in 1567.

The Author of this Inquiry here acknowledges his error in computing the age of Bothwell at sixty at his marriage, when in truth he was forty-four only. Although he could not be said to have been declined in the vale of years, yet he was then past the prime of age, and *entered* into the vale of years, a middle-aged man, who might have been father to the Queen, and not easily to be imagined the object of love; of love next to frenzy, as is supposed, of the beauteous Mary, then in the bloom of twenty-four.

After Lord Hailes and Lord Elibank, the *Miscellaneous Remarker* on the Inquiry, &c. enters the lists.

This Knight advances in the colours and livery of Queen Mary; as a pretended friend he tells us, "That the intercourse between her and the Earl of Bothwell was ill-fated, and in its consequences disastrous, but with respect to her it was *innocent*."

He

posed to have precipitated the unfortunate Queen.

Let

He then, with much regret, no doubt, hints, that the cause of Mary has been hurt by her advocates.—
 “ The champions of her honour, when they speak of
 “ that intercourse,” says he, “ ought to combat with
 “ weapons of proof, and not with the *telum imbelles*
 “ *sine ictu*—of old Priam.”

Such, it seems (in his opinion), was the argument used by the Author of the Inquiry, when he says (as in his former edition), that Bothwell was a man of sixty, already declined in the vale of years. All this, says our champion, is a mistake, arising from confounding James Earl of Bothwell with his father Patrick.

The Author of the Inquiry has frankly acknowledged he was in a mistake, not in confounding the name of James with Patrick, which last, Lord Elibank has demonstrated, could not be meant as the rival of Lennox; but his mistake was in the computation of Earl James's age to be sixty instead of forty-four, at his marriage with Queen Mary. This mistake, however, was not the Author's; he was led into it, as he has shewn, by Buchanan; he has given his authorities *verbatim* from the Historian; so that every person, as well as himself, was at liberty to make the computation, and to judge of the solidity of his argument founded on it. But this pretended friend of Queen
 Mary

Let us consider this matter a little further, and ascertain what degree of merit the

Mary will find it difficult to apologize for what is much worse than a mistake on his part, of a wilful suppression of Lord Elibank's solution of the above intricacy in Buchanan's narrative (of which I have given an abstract as above), in his letter to Lord Hailes, and which the Miscellaneous Remarker, who appears to be thoroughly versant in the whole controversy, must have seen, as it was published immediately after Lord Hailes's Remarks.

As to Buchanan's other story of Lady Reres, *quæ inter pellices Bothuelii fuerat, sed nunc inclinata ætate ad Lenociniam se contulerat*: This, says the Miscellaneous Remarker, is one of Buchanan's gossiping and malicious stories, which is rather too ludicrous to be mentioned by the Author of the Inquiry: *ergo*, according to the Remarker, no faith is to be given to it!

Strange this! when, in the very leaf before, our Author, in order to disprove the Inquirer's account of Bothwell's age, quotes a similar gossiping story from the very same Buchanan, viz. "that Bothwell was brought up in the Bishop of Murray's palace, a most corrupt house in drunkenness and whoredomes." His reflection is—"We may assure ourselves that Buchanan would not have asserted, that Bothwell
" was

the Earl of Bothwell had acquired, and the Queen's situation at the unlucky period of

“ was brought up in the house of the Bishop of Murray, if that circumstance had not been publicly known.”

An instance this, of the gentleman's candour !

Our Author asks, with a sneer, Where does the Inquirer learn that *Dame Reres* was in her youth, when she was the mistress of Bothwell ; since she might have been engaged in her vocation for twenty-five years before she turned bawd ? The question is singular. To answer the Gentleman, who appears an adept in the school of Venus, may expose my ignorance, as he hints at, in these affairs. I confess, I took it for granted, that the *pellex Bothuelii*, was not *inclinata ætate* ; that Bothwell's mistress could not be an old woman ! and that a young Nobleman would scarce chuse to form a connection with an old bawd, unless he had no money to purchase a young wench.

“ The Author of the Inquiry,” says the Remarker, “ appears to be ignorant of this historical fact” (he is indeed), “ that in those times it was the province of “ elderly ladies to form young men of quality ;” that is, to initiate them in the school of debauchery. What profundity of useful, of refined reading and knowledge, is here displayed by the Miscellaneous Remarker !

Thus,

of her marriage with this Nobleman. James Earl of Bothwell, hereditary High Admiral of Scotland, was the head of an ancient family, and by his extensive possessions and numerous vassals, one of the most powerful Noblemen in the kingdom. His valour in the wars with the English in the late Queen-Regent's time, had advanced him to be her Lieutenant-general, and Warden of the Marches. I shall chiefly follow Dr. Robertson. "When almost every
"person of distinction in the kingdom,
"whether Papist or Protestant, had joined
"the Congregation in opposing the in-
"croachments of the French upon the li-
"berties of the nation, the Earl of Both-
"well adhered to the Queen-Regent, and
"acted with vigour on her side. The
"success which attended the arms of the

Thus, under the disguise of a pretended friend to Mary, the Remarker endeavours to rob the unfortunate Queen of the principal arguments in her defence.

“ Congregation having obliged him to re-
 “ tire to France *, he was taken into the
 “ Queen’s service, and continued with her
 “ till the time of her return to Scotland.
 “ From that period every step of his con-
 “ duct towards Mary was remarkably
 “ dutiful; and amidst all the shiftings of
 “ faction, we scarcely ever find him hold-
 “ ing any course which could be offensive
 “ to her.” I must here beg leave to add a
 sentence to the Doctor’s account. For this
 fidelity and dutiful attachment to his Sove-
 reign, and his unshaken firmness in oppo-
 sition to the seditious insurrections which
 disturbed her reign, he was hated and de-
 tested by Murray, who had very opposite
 views for himself, and therefore had the
 influence, in spite of Bothwell’s services,
 to procure his banishment a second time.
 “ When Murray’s proceedings with regard
 “ to her marriage *gave umbrage* to the

* At which time his houses and rich moveables were
 sacked and destroyed. *Keith, p. 388.*

“ Queen,

“ Queen *, she recalled Bothwell from that
“ banishment into which she had with re-
“ luctance driven him ; and considered his
“ zeal and abilities as the most powerful
“ supports of her authority. When the con-
“ spirators against Rizzio seized her person,
“ he became the chief instrument of reco-
“ vering her liberty, and served her on
“ that occasion with so much fidelity and
“ success, as made the deepest impression
“ on her mind, and greatly increased the
“ confidence which she had hitherto placed
“ in him.”

The inference Dr. Robertson makes from this account of Bothwell, his services and attachment to Queen Mary, is, that he could scarce fail of captivating her heart.

* Murray, as we have seen, took the field, and appeared in open rebellion against his Sovereign at that time. The Doctor is rather modest in this account of Murray's rebellion, which threatened the lives and liberties of the Queen and her husband ; this, no doubt, gave umbrage to the Queen.

From the Doctor's premises, I must own I think a very different conclusion may be drawn; and that the Queen, possessed with gratitude for this Nobleman's services, might never have felt the smallest emotion of love for him. It was surely no easy matter for Mary to believe him guilty of the crime attributed to him, without proof, which she never received. It was no wonder she listened to every testimony in favour of his innocence. His trial, and acquittal, in which it does not appear she had any hand, confirmed by Parliament, with the association of the Nobility in his favour, must have therefore rendered him altogether guiltless in her eyes.

It is here to be remarked too, that, with many excellent qualities, Mary was amazingly credulous, even to a degree of simplicity and folly. Open, honest, and unsuspicious herself, she believed others equally so, and trusted to the fair speech and
profession

profession of those whom she thought her friends. This peculiar weakness, though strongly characteristic of Queen Mary, is overlooked by her Historians, though many striking instances prove it to a certainty of truth. Witness her reinstating and placing the most unbounded confidence in her bastard-brother, the Earl of Murray, after repeated instances of his treachery, and conspiring against her life and liberty. The same may be said of her conduct to Morton and his confederates; and to crown all, her rushing, with her eyes open, into the snare so often spread for her destruction, and contrary to good advice, sound experience, and common sense, credulously trusting herself to the false professions of a jealous rival, of whose steady hate and enmity the unfortunate but unwise Mary had heretofore received sufficient proof. All manifestly evidence Mary's weakness on this head, which, through the whole course of her life, as well

as in this fatal instance of her unfortunate marriage with Bothwell, was the cause of her ruin.

Mary's situation, too, at this time, was surely piteous. The tide of the Reformed religion breaking in, and furrounding her on every side, had reduced her affairs to a very unhappy situation. The populace, by the influence of the Clergy, averse to her government; and great part of the Nobility, always too powerful for the throne, now from their interested views of sharing in the spoils of Papacy, tottering to its fall, were jealous and discontented; a constant series of conspiracies and rebellions carried on against her, fomented and supported by Queen Elizabeth; her Secretary Rizzio lately assassinated in her presence; her own life threatened; and soon after her husband murdered in the most open manner by the same confederacy: on the other hand, her assured friends few, of whom

whom the Earl of Bothwell may be reckoned at the head, with the solicitation of the whole Nobles in his favour, herself a helpless woman, at an age too when youth may be allowed to plead an excuse for errors of indiscretion, which riper years, a less flexible disposition, and greater firmness of mind, might with difficulty perhaps have avoided: when all these considerations are duly and without passion weighed, the reader may give judgment. Humanity, says Dr. Robertson, may perhaps prompt some to impute her actions to "*her situation more than to her dispositions*, and to lament "*the unhappiness of the former, rather than accuse the perverseness of the latter*;" *octavo edition, vol. ii. p. 176.*—

This admission is candid and humane. I now return to my subject.

No sooner was this unhappy marriage concluded, than Morton, Lethington, and the rest of the party, hitherto the pretended

friends and supporters of Bothwell, began quickly to throw off the mask. These very men, the associates of Morton*, who

* Viz. Lord Lindsay, Pitcairn Abbot of Dunfermline, Sir John Ballenden Lord Justice Clerk, and Macgill and Balnaves, Lords of Session, all of whom, we have seen, sat as judges in Bothwell's trial, and acquitted him of the murder. Morton himself, the Lord Ruthven, and Bothwell the Reformed Bishop of Orkney, subscribed the infamous Bond of association in favour of Bothwell. The same Bishop of Orkney appears to have been so much in the confidence of the Earl of Bothwell at the time of his marriage, that he was made choice of to perform the marriage-ceremony between the Queen and him. Nevertheless, on Morton's rising in arms against the Queen, this Bishop joined the party, and turned against his benefactors,

The writers against the Queen talk of the improbability of this scheme of Morton and his party, in promoting Bothwell's marriage with the Queen, with a view to ruin them both; *Robertson, vol. i. p. 354.* and *Dissertation, p. 4.* But positive and plain facts will not easily bend to fine and specious arguments; and no reason, on the other hand, can, with any degree of consistency, be given for Morton and his confederates eagerness and activity in first promoting this marriage, and in a few days after taking arms against the Queen, but what is above assigned,

had

had been the chief instruments employed in the mock trial, and acquitting of Bothwell for the murder of the King; who had brought about the infamous Bond asserting Bothwell's innocence, addressing the Queen to marry him, and solemnly binding and engaging themselves to support him with their lives and fortunes; these were the men who, immediately after the marriage, formed an association against the Queen and this very Bothwell; and so closely had they carried on their measures, that within three weeks after the marriage, they were ready to have made the Queen and Bothwell prisoners in her own palace *.

The Queen and Bothwell having a hint given them of the conspiracy against them, they, on the 6th of June, made a very narrow escape from Holyroodhouse, and came to the Earl of Bothwell's castle of Borthwick; from thence they went to

* Keith, p. 398.

Dunbar; and in a few days thereafter, the Queen having hastily called together a handful of such of her subjects as could be easily convened, she and Bothwell marched towards Edinburgh; and were met by the Earl of Morton and his party, with a far superior force, at Carberry hill, about eight miles eastward of the city.

Many of the Nobility, such as Athol, Mar, and others, from a real conviction of Bothwell's being principally concerned in the late King's murder, and apprehension of danger to the young Prince, had by this time joined with Morton and his party. An interview was brought about between the Queen, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange on the part of the rebels; who required no other terms than those of her dismissing Bothwell from her presence, and promised, on that condition, all dutiful obedience to the Queen*. She, relying

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 366. and Melvill, p. 161.

on the faith of this treaty, and to avoid bloodshed, directly went over to the opposite army, and delivered herself implicitly into their hands. How well these gentlemen kept their faith, shall be shown.

The treaty between the Queen and the heads of the rebel party at Carberry hill, and their infamous breach of that treaty, clearly prove their preconcerted conspiracy for dethroning the Queen and usurping the government. We shall take our detail from Sir James Melvill, who appears to have been present and on the spot, and in the knowledge of the whole of their transactions.

“ The Earl of Bothwell,” says Melvill,
“ marched out of Dunbar towards Edin-
“ burgh, taking the Queen with him.
“ The Lords, again, with their company,
“ went from Edinburgh, with an earnest
“ desire to fight. Both armies lay not far
“ from Carberry. The Earl of Bothwell’s
“ men

“ men encamped upon the hill, in a strength
 “ very advantageous. The Lords en-
 “ camped at the foot of the hill. Al-
 “ beit her Majesty was there, I cannot
 “ call it her army. Many of those who
 “ were with her, were of opinion that she
 “ had intelligence with the Lords, especially
 “ such as were informed of the many in-
 “ dignities put upon her by the Earl of
 “ Bothwell since their marriage. He was
 “ so beastly and suspicious, that he suffered
 “ her not to pass one day in patience
 “ without making her shed tears. Thus,
 “ part of his own company detested him,
 “ other part of them believed that her Ma-
 “ jesty would fain have been quit of him,
 “ but thought shame to be the doer thereof
 “ directly herself.

“ In the mean time the Laird of Grange*
 “ did ride about the hill, with two hundred

* Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a man of
 military skill and valour.—We shall by and by enter
 more particularly into his character,

“ horse-

“horsemen, to be betwixt Bothwell and
“Dunbar. When the Queen understood
“that the Laird of Grange was chief of
“the company of horsemen, she sent the
“Laird of Ormiston to desire him to
“come and speak with her, under surety,
“which he did, after he had acquaint-
“ed the Lords with her desire, and had
“obtained their permission. He then de-
“clared unto the Queen, that all of them
“were ready to honour and serve her,
“upon condition that she would abandon
“Bothwell, who had murdered her hus-
“band. Then the Queen said to Grange,
“that if the Lords would do as he had
“spoken to her, she would put away the
“Earl of Bothwell, and come unto them.
“Whereupon Grange asked the Lords if
“he might, in their name, make her Ma-
“jesty *that promise?* which they *commis-*
“*sioned him to do.* Then he rode up again,
“and saw the Earl of Bothwell part, and
“came down again and assured the Lords
“thereof.

“ thereof. They desired him to go up the
 “ hill again and receive the Queen: who
 “ met him, and said, Laird of Grange, *I ren-*
 “ *der myself unto you, upon the conditions you*
 “ *rebeared unto me in the name of the Lords**.
 “ Whereupon she gave him her hand, which
 “ he kissed, leading her Majesty’s horse by
 “ the bridle down the hill unto the Lords,
 “ who came forward and met her. The
 “ Noblemen used all dutiful reverence to
 “ her.” The Queen’s having thus vo-
 luntarily put herself into the hands of these
 subjects, trusting to their faith which they
 had thus solemnly pledged to her, shews
 great weakness in Mary, in relying upon
 men, of whom the chief, such as Morton,
 Lindsay, Ruthven, &c. had, by repeated
 acts before this, shewn their malignant
 designs against her and her government,

* The Queen thus parting with Bothwell, and go-
 ing over to the Lords without endeavouring to make
 any terms for his safety, is a convincing proof that at
 this time she had not the smallest degree of affection
 for him.

Let

Let us now (from the same author, Melvill) see in what manner they kept faith to her in this recent treaty: their procedure in every subsequent step, evidently shews their preconcerted scheme to break it. Instead of conducting the Queen to her palace of Holyroodhouse, which is situated in the direct road from Carberry, they had prepared matters for making her a public spectacle through the streets of her capital, and had taken every measure to incite an abandoned mob of the vilest of the populace to insult her.—“ Her Majesty,” says Melvill, “ was conveyed “ to Edinburgh, and lodged in the midst of “ the town in the Provost’s house. As she “ came through the town, the common “ people cried out against her at the windows and stairs. Others again evidenced “ their malice in setting up a banner or “ ensign, whereupon the King was painted “ lying dead under a tree, and the young “ Prince

“ Prince upon his knees praying, Judge
 “ and revenge my cause, O Lord !”

Thus far we see the rebels had, without the smallest pretext or colour whatever, infringed their treaty, by keeping her a prisoner in the Provost's house, surrounded with their armed guards, instead of restoring her to her own palace. Melvill, from whom we have given this narrative, next proceeds to give the apology for the rebels. “ That same night it was alleged
 “ that her Majesty did write a letter unto
 “ the Earl of Bothwell, and promised a
 “ reward to *one of her keepers* *, to convey
 “ it secretly to Dunbar to the Earl, calling
 “ him her Dear Heart, whom she would
 “ never abandon, saying, that though she
 “ was necessitated to be absent from him,
 “ that she had sent him away only for his
 “ safety, willing him to be comforted, and

* We see her a prisoner, however, under a strict guard, before her writing this pretended Letter to Bothwell.

“ be upon his guard; which letter the
“ knave delivered to the Lords, though
“ he had promised the contrary. Upon
“ which letter, the Lords took occasion
“ to send her to Lochleven, to be kept,
“ which she alleged was contrary to pro-
“ mise. The yon the other hand affirmed,
“ that by her own hand-writing she had
“ declared that she had not, nor would
“ not abandon the Earl of Bothwell.”
“ — Grange was yet so angry, that had
“ it not been for the letter, he had instantly
“ left the party.”—Thus far Melvill apo-
logises for the infamous breach of treaty of
his friends. Before considering this letter,
which we shall shew was another piece of
forgery, contrived by the heads of the re-
bels, as a pretext to some of their more
conscientious and squeamish associates, for
so flagrant a breach of faith, I shall pro-
ceed in the detail of their conduct with
regard to the Queen, now a prisoner in
their hands: in which I shall follow chiefly
Crawford.

Crawford*.—The rebels having kept the Queen that night under a strong guard in the Provost's house, the honest part of the citizens, stung with remorse and pity, crowded to the place, *threatening to set her at liberty*. To prevent this required all the address of the conspirators; thereupon, with well feigned grief, they pretended they were sorry for giving her cause to complain; assured her, that they never intended to deprive her of her freedom, and would instantly restore her to her own palace of Holyroodhouse. This, indeed, they accordingly did, the same evening: In the night, however, she was suddenly delivered up to the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, two of the most furious of the conspirators, and under strict guard, for fear of rescue, hurried off by them to the fortress of Lochlevin, then under the charge of Douglas, the husband of the Earl of Murray's mother. In this remote place, which is

* Crawford, p. 39. Lond. edit.

fituate in the middle of a lake, stript of her princely attire and ornaments, and clothed in a coarse woollen cassock, she was committed to the charge of the Lady Lochlevin, Murray the bastard's mother.

Let us now examine the Letter mentioned by Melvill, as said to be written by the Queen to Bothwell, the night of her imprisonment at Edinburgh, by the rebels, and alleged as their apology for their breach of faith. Upon this occasion, Queen Elizabeth, affecting much concern for her sister Mary, sent down Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, as her minister, to remonstrate to the rebels against their procedure with regard to their sovereign. In the answer made by them to Throgmorton's remonstrance, they set forth the cause of their rising in arms, to have been at first for rescuing her from the hands of Bothwell, and bringing him to punishment as the known murderer of her late

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husband; and that as the Queen still professed a violent attachment to him, they were obliged, on account of their own safety, to imprison her. It is here to be observed, that notwithstanding the desire of Throgmorton to visit, and to have a personal interview with the Queen, to have heard her story from herself, he was denied access to her. We must therefore take the account of this matter entirely upon the bare word of the rebels. Had their story been true, they could have verified it in the clearest manner, by producing and shewing to Throgmorton, Mary's pretended Letter to Bothwell, calling him her *Dear Heart*, and professing her resolution *never to abandon him*: but that piece of forgery having served the purpose of sending the Queen a prisoner to Lochlevin, and of imposing upon Sir William Kirkaldy, on whose faith pledged in the forementioned treaty, the Queen
had

had delivered herself into their hands, it was judged not fit now to be exposed to light.

The next opportunity given the rebels for justifying themselves by producing this Letter of the Queen's, was at the conferences at York. There they having repeated their former plea of necessity for their rebellion and detention of the Queen's person, from her refusing to abandon Bothwell; the Queen, in the answer signed by her commissioners, gives the lie to their story, and for the falsehood of it appeals to the implicit offers which she then made to them by Secretary Lethington. I shall quote the words.—“ Her Majesty
“ was always content as to ony thing al-
“ legit be them, to offer the same to be
“ reformat be the tryall of the hail nobilitie
“ and estates of the realm, hir Grace being
“ present and heard; and to that effect,
“ directit her Secretary Lethinton to thair

“ council that held hir captive at that
 “ time, & was utterlie refusit, *and maid na*
 “ *offir to leive the realm, that hir Grace*
 “ *might possess the Erle Bothwell, as they*
 “ *alleage*; and thaireftir hir Grace was
 “ secretly conveyit perforce, and againis
 “ hir will, in the night, and imprisoned
 “ within the fortalice of Lochlevin*.”

This direct contradiction of the false story fabricated by the rebels, of the Queen's attachment to Bothwell, and her refusing to abandon him, called upon them to verify it, which, if true, they could have done to the conviction of every mortal, by the bare production of the Queen's Letter in their own hands. Did they do so? No! not the least mention is made of it. What then shall we conclude? Surely, that the whole story was false, contrived to blind the scrupulous amongst their adhe-

* Cotton Lib. Calig. C. i. folio 202. Goodall,
 vol. ii. p. 165.

rents, and the Letter, forged, to give credit to it; and having accordingly served its purpose, for their breach of faith and the Queen's captivity, was for fear of detection suppressed, and never after heard of. Mr. Hume, who is not forward in making concessions in the Queen's favour, admits on this head, "That the reality of this Letter is somewhat disputable, chiefly," says he, "because Murray and his associates never mentioned it in their accusation of Queen Mary before Queen Elizabeth *."

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 483.

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* Hume, vol. iv. p. 483.

C H A P. VI.

The Conduct of the Confederates with regard to Bothwell.—The Queen's Escape from Lochleven.—Battle of Langside; and the Queen's Retreat into England.—Embassy to the King of Denmark, for delivering up Bothwell.—Murray's Treachery to the Duke of Norfolk.—Behaviour as to Lethington.—His Assassination.

MORTON and the confederates having thus, by a most infamous breach of faith, dethroned their Queen, and imprisoned her in the castle of Lochleven, let us examine their procedure with respect to the Earl of Bothwell, the chief object, as they pretended, of their resentment, and the cause of their taking arms against him

as the murderer of the King. Upon the Queen's delivering herself into their hands, as we have seen, although they had a formidable army, with great store of artillery, they never attempted to lay siege to that castle, but suffered him quietly to depart. Although they broke their faith, and sent her prisoner to Lochleven, yet they allowed the Earl of Bothwell to retire from the field almost alone, without attempting to follow him. He went straight to Dunbar castle, where he quietly remained until the 26th of June; at least, of that date, we find an order of Morton and his council for summoning "the keeper of Dunbar castle to surrender the same, because the Earl of Bothwell was refet and received within the said castle *."

This was surely a civil intimation for this alleged criminal to shift his quarters. How

* Keith, p. 408.

long after this he chose to abide there, does not appear. Some time after, as High Admiral of Scotland, he went to sea, with some few ships under his command, and cruised along the northern coast, until the 11th of August; when a commission was issued to Murray of Tullibardine, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, to provide ships, “and to pursue the Earl of Bothwell, by sea or land, by fire and sword.” In consequence of which, a fleet being sent after him, Bothwell fled to the coast of Denmark; where, by some of the King of Denmark’s ships, he was taken prisoner, and carried to that country: “They were “glad,” (says Crawford’s manuscript) “of “his escape from Carberry hill; for no man “pursued him, nor did any offer to attack “him at Dunbar, whither he retreated, “and staid at least fourteen days.—And, “indeed, if Grange had taken him at “Orkney, it is more than probable (lest he “had

“ had betrayed his accomplices) that he
“ had been sacrificed on the spot *.”

The confederates having thus secured the Queen a captive, and expelled Bothwell the kingdom, they completed their scheme, by wresting the reins of government from their Sovereign, and seizing them into their own hands.

On this fatal reverse of the Queen's fortune, the Clergy were not inactive. Let us see the spirit which actuated the heads of the Reformed religion at this time. Dr. Robertson gives us the opinions of the several ranks of the state, with regard to the measures proposed for settling the government, and disposing of the Queen. Some were desirous (says the Historian) of adhering to the plan upon which the confederacy was at first formed, to wit, To bring to justice the murderers of the

* Crawford, p. 54.

late King : to dissolve the Queen's marriage with Bothwell : to provide for the safety of the young Prince, and the security of the Protestant religion : and then to re-establish the Queen in the possession of her legal authority. " Others thought of more desperate measures : nothing less would satisfy them, than the trial, the condemnation, and punishment of the Queen herself."—The former was Lethington's system—" The latter was recommended by the Clergy, and many Laics. But the Nobles durst not, or would not, venture on such an unprecedented and audacious deed."

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, 19th July 1567, is still more explicit. " The last degree proposed," (says he) " is, not only to have the Queen's process made, and her condemnation public ; but also the deprivation of her *estate and life* to ensue."—He continues,—“ This day, being at Mr.

“Knox’s sermon, who took a piece of
“scripture furth of the Book of Kings, and
“did inveigh vehemently against the
“Queen, and perswaded extremities against
“her; I did, after the sermon, move such
“of the Council as were present, to advise
“*the Preachers* not to intermeddle with
“these matters, until they were resolved
“among themselves what they were
“minded to do; otherwise the ministers,
“going on so rigorously in their daily
“preachings, might draw the multitude
“from them *.” Such were the religious
principles of the Clergy (it is to be hoped
not the whole of them) at the head of the
Reformation in Scotland! Do the prin-
ciples of the Christian religion, or of its
mild Founder, breathe this sanguinary spirit?
Are we surpris’d at the doubt of libertines,
Whether religion, or atheism, has drawn
most blood from mankind?

* Keith, p. 422.

Mean-

Meanwhile, in her remote prison of Lochleven, cut off from all intercourse with friends *, Queen Mary was kept close prisoner for eleven months, subjected to the daily insults of a bold intemperate woman, the mother of Murray. The furious fanatic Lord Lindsay, at the same time threatening her with instant death, a resignation of her crown in favour of her infant son was extorted from her, together with a nomination of Regency to the Earl of Murray during the Prince's non-age. From this prison, after some months confinement, Mary effected her escape in the following manner.

The extreme rigour of her confinement, her distresses, and, amidst all, her gentle and irresistible address, won over to her relief George Douglas, a young man, bro-

* Even the foreign ministers of France and England were denied access to her.

ther to the Laird of Lochlevin. Mary having given previous notice to the Lord Seton, horses and an armed escort were prepared to receive her on the border of the Lake. Douglas, watching the opportunity while his brother and wife were at supper, on Sunday evening, 2d May 1568, stole the keys of the castle from his chamber, opened the gates, released the Queen, locked them behind her, and threw the keys into the Lake. He then led the Queen, with one attendant maid, into the boat prepared for her, and rowed them safely to shore. She instantly mounted horse, and, under the guard of Lord Seton and Sir James Hamilton, after crossing the Frith of Forth, soon reached the castle of Niddrie, Lord Seton's house in West Lothian. There reposing herself a few hours, she again set off, and riding all night, arrived at the palace of Hamilton, the next morning.

The

The sudden precipitation of Queen Mary from her throne, almost instantaneous on her fatal marriage, had struck her friends with consternation; from which they scarcely recovered, before they found the Earl of Murray firmly seated in the Regency. So insolent and audacious were the rebels at this time (as asserted by the Queen's friends), "That in cais the Nobil-men favorers of hir Majestie had raised an armie, it was minaced and boisted, that thay wald send hir heid to them*." During the Queen's imprisonment, her friends had time to look about them, and to trace the steps of Murray and his confederates through the whole mazes of their conspiracies and schemes for the Queen's overthrow. Convinced of her innocence, they had already begun to concert measures for rescuing her from the hands of her rebel subjects, and restoring her to her throne†.

* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 355.

† Robertson, vol. i. p. 453.

Immediately on the report of her escape from Lochlevin, her friends took arms, and crowded to her from every quarter. In a few days her court was filled with a great and splendid train of the most eminent of the Nobility and Gentry, accompanied by their followers, to the number of six thousand men. An association was formed for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by twenty-seven Peers of the realm, almost the whole Bishops and dignified Clergy*, and the most distinguished and powerful of the Barons and Gentry.

On this occasion, Murray exerted himself with resolution and sagacity. In possession of the powers of Government, he collected his utmost strength, and hastened to attack the Queen before her numbers should increase. Her situation at Hamilton was straitened, in the midst of a hostile

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 254.

part of the country, ardent in the cause of the new religion, and devoted to Glencairn and Sempil, two of the most violent leaders of Reformation. The Queen's plan was to have marched northward towards the strong fortress of Dunbarton, in the entry of the Highlands, which, by the valour and conduct of the Lord Fleming, still held out for her; and there to have waited until the northern clans of Huntly, Ogilvy, and other friends, should join her. Murray, meanwhile, most artfully amused her for some days, pretending to listen to proposals for accommodating matters between them, until he had collected his strength: he then marched forward to attack her. The Queen's army, though respectable both in numbers and leaders, consisted chiefly of the Hamiltons. There was scarce one military officer, however, among them. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, brother to the Duke, took the
chief

chief direction. On their march towards Dunbarton, they were opposed by Murray at the village of Langside, near Glasgow. Murray had under him several experienced officers, particularly Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, to whose military skill Murray, in a great measure, owed the fortune of the day. The Hamiltons leading the van, rushed on and attacked the front line of the Regent's army with great intrepidity. The conflict was furious on both sides. The impetuosity of the Hamiltons having separated them from their main body, left their flanks exposed to the fire of several parties which Murray had posted amongst some inclosures on each side, and at the same time they were attacked in front by Murray's choicest troops. They were obliged to give way, and retreated in confusion. A general disorder and rout ensued. Above three hundred of the Queen's side fell dead on the field; many were taken

prisoners. The unfortunate Queen, who was a spectator of the engagement from a rising ground, seeing the day lost, rode off the field with precipitation; and, with a few attendants, reached the Abbey of Dundernan in Galway without resting, not less than sixty miles from the field of battle. In this remote part of the kingdom, surrounded with her friends, Mary might have remained with safety, until she had collected her scattered powers, and again taken the field. The Lords Herries and Maxwell were powerful in that country. Scot of Buccleugh, and Kerr of Fernieherst, in the neighbouring counties along the Border, and almost the whole of the kingdom to the north of the Forth and Tay, with the Earl of Huntly and Lord Ogilvy at their head, were devoted to her cause. The amazing credulity of Mary, and the dread of again falling into Murray's hands, determined her to take another course.

While the Queen was confined in Lochleven, although the constant unremitting practices of Elizabeth, in stirring up her seditious subjects against her, had brought her to that prison; although she took no step for effecting her relief; yet, on that occasion, affecting much commiseration for her distress, she had amused her with promises of interposing between her and her rebellious subjects; and by her letters had solicited Mary to take refuge in England, where she offered her a princely reception and a safe asylum. The weakness of Queen Mary now inclined her to trust to these promises; and in opposition to the earnest entreaties of her faithful friends the Lords Herries, Maxwell, and Fleming, who never forsook her, she took the fatal step to complete all her misfortunes by throwing herself into the hands of her steady and determined foe; who, for a course of years, and by a series of schemes,

had been contriving to bring this important event about *!

The

* This scheme of Queen Elizabeth, in decoying Queen Mary to throw herself into her hands, was formed by her so early as the period of Mary's resolution of leaving France and returning to her own dominions: and it appears that Elizabeth never lost sight of her plan. (See vol. i. p. 354. 358. 376.) The only excuse that can be made for Mary's credulity, is the fear she might have been impressed with, of again falling into the hands of her rebel subjects, which she had reason to apprehend might have been fatal to her. But the credulous Queen, above all, trusted implicitly in the letters lately addressed to her by Queen Elizabeth upon her escape from Lochleven, inviting her, in a most affectionate strain, to take refuge in England, under the solemn promise of assistance, and as a pledge of faith and friendship, accompanying her letter with a ring. So gross a breach of faith, in thus decoying the credulous Princess to rush into the snare laid for her, is a deed so black in every circumstance attending it, and lays open a heart so void of every principle of honour or humanity, as calls for the clearest evidence to support it! which shall be laid before the reader.

In the time of the conferences in England, Queen Mary's Commissioners appeared in presence of Queen Elizabeth

The part which the confederates, with Murray at their head, acted, in accusing the

Elizabeth and her Council at Hampton Court, on the 16th of December 1568, and the Bishop of Ross, in their name, addressed Queen Elizabeth herself in these words: "Our Soverane," says he, "came of hir own free motive will within your Majestie's realm, upon the greit confidence she had in your Majestie, — and divers and findrie faithfull promises past befor betwixt your Hieness and hir, and *confirmit be writings and taikens* latelie sent betwixt your Majestie and hir; and last of all, as your Majestie has known, *be Beton*."—Goodall, vol. ii. p. 265.—

The same Bishop of Ross, again, by a letter of 17th December 1567, thus addresses Queen Elizabeth, reminding her of the "*findrie promises of friendship, amitie, and mutual assistance, affirmit be tokenis and writings*; and last of all, *be resaving the ring again fra Beton*, imediatly after hir delivering furth of Lochlevin, quhilk your Majesty had gevin and *interchangit* as a pledge of amitie, and promise of help to uthers mutuallie whensoever occasioun fould require."—(Goodall, vol. ii. p. 384. Whitaker, vol. i. p. 37.)—And to complete the whole evidence, there remains the testimony of Secretary Cecil, in his own hand-writing, acknowledging

the Queen of the murder of Lord Darnley before Queen Elizabeth, by which Murray secured to himself, by Elizabeth's means, the Regency of the kingdom, has already been shown. We return to Bothwell.

After the death of the Earl of Murray, the Earl of Lennox, father to the Lord Darnley, having succeeded him in the Regency, sent over, in the year 1570, one Thomas Buchanan, as his minister to the court of Denmark, to solicit that king to have the Earl of Bothwell sent home, and delivered up to him. This embassy had not the effect of procuring the Earl of Bothwell to be delivered up. We learn, however, that Mr. Buchanan sent over an account of his transactions to his master Len-

the truth of the above facts, as formerly quoted, in these words: "She (Queen Mary) *trusted to the Queen's Majestie's help*, because she had in her *trouble received many messages to that effect.*" Cotton Lib. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 99.

nox, which it is probable contained some particulars from the mouth of Bothwell relating to the murder. These, it would appear, were not thought proper to be exposed to light. The Earl of Morton at this time was at London, negotiating to have Queen Mary, then in England, still detained prisoner. It is probable that this embassy of Buchanan's to Denmark was not relished by him. He appears to have been suspicious of some discoveries from that quarter. He had the address, therefore, to intercept the above packet from Buchanan, and the boldness to open and peruse the contents, though addressed to his master Lennox only. For proof of this fact, we have Morton's own letter to the Regent Lennox still preserved, though Buchanan's letter from Denmark is not to be found; but as Morton himself soon after succeeded to the Regency, this may easily be accounted for. Morton's letter to

the Regent is in these words: " We refavit
 " a letter written furth of Denmark, be Mr,
 " Thomas Buchanan, to your Grace, of
 " date the 20th of January; and because
 " we judgit that some things might be
 " specified thairin quhilk were expedient
 " to be remembered upon here, *we take the*
 " *boldness to open and read the letter*, quhilk
 " it may pleis your Grace presently to re-
 " saive. The cause why it has been so
 " long in sending, was that we thought
 " not best to commit it to the throuch
 " post, or a common messenger: for that
 " we had na will the contents of the same
 " suld be known, fearing that some *words*
 " and *matters* mentioned in the same, be-
 " ing disperfit heir as novellis, suld rather
 " *have hindered than furthered our cause*; and
 " thairfor, being desirit at court to shew
 " the letter, we gave to understand, that
 " we had sent the principal away, and
 " deliverit a copy, *omittand sic things as we*
 " *thought*

"*thought not meet to be shawen*, as your
"Grace may perceive by *the like copy*,
"quhilk also we have sent you herewith,
"quhilk ye may communicate to sic as your
"Grace thinks not expedient to communi-
"cate the haill contents of the principal
"letter unto *."

This letter is signed by Morton, and likewise by the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Macgill, two persons whom we have already seen employed as useful instruments to Murray and Morton; and is dated the 24th of March 1570, that is, above two months after the date of Thomas Buchanan's letter to Lennox. From which it is plain, that Morton and his associates must have kept this letter in their hands above a month before they were pleased to send it down to Scotland to Lennox, to whom it was addressed.

* Cotton Lib. Lennox's Register of Letters, fol. 202.
Goodall, vol. ii. p. 382.

For what purposes Morton intercepted, and detained so long, this letter from Denmark, in his hands, and why he was pleased to deliver a false and castrated copy, even to his good friend Queen Elizabeth, and her minister Cecil, omitting some matters contained in this letter, *that were not meet* (as he acknowledges) *to be shown*, seem to be pretty obvious: and I leave it to others to determine, how far this whole *manœuvre* of Morton, with respect to the intercepting this packet to the Regent, breaking it open, detaining it for several weeks in his hands before he sent it to Lennox, concealing the contents, and taking upon him to deliver to the English court a false copy, or indeed to deliver any copy at all, does not carry the strongest suspicion, that the original letter sent from Denmark contained matters of great importance relating to the murder, and particularly against Morton himself, and the whole party; and
whether

whether it is not extremely probable, that he might have abstracted part of the contents, and even falsified the original, which he was pleased to send to Lennox, for the same very reasons which induced him to falsify the copy, which he owns himself he gave in to the English court.

The breaking open a letter from an ambassador at a foreign court, to his master the Regent of Scotland, without authority, must convince every mortal, that Morton must have been under the greatest anxiety and suspicion, that the contents were of the utmost importance, and contained some dangerous discoveries relating to himself, which could induce him to venture upon so gross a practice; and his keeping up the letter for so long a time in his hands, under the poor pretence of not trusting it with a common messenger, is as convincing, that during that time he was *practising* upon it, and that it was not without design

design that he kept this letter all this while in his hands *.

Lennox continuing to solicit the King of Denmark to send over Bothwell to be tried, Queen Elizabeth likewise was pleased to urge the same request. That King, by a letter sent to the Earl of Lennox, agreed to send over Bothwell, upon these conditions: That Queen Elizabeth should become bound, and likewise the estates of Scotland, by solemn writings, to be sent to Denmark against the 24th day of August 1571, that the Earl of Bothwell should *have a fair trial*. This letter Lennox sent to Queen Elizabeth for her advice, by a letter of the 25th of May that year: but the security for Bothwell demanded by the Danish King, *not being sent*, that af-

* This affair sufficiently shows the imbecility of Lennox. He was nominal Regent only, while the audacious Morton took upon him to rule the whole affairs of government.

fair

fair was of consequence dropped altogether*.

The great scheme of the confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, having been, as we have seen, to overturn the government of the kingdom, by the destruction or imprisonment of the Queen, and to attain possession thereof to themselves; we have hitherto traced the triumvirate co-operating together in that scheme, which was accomplished by the Queen's imprisonment, and the Earl of Murray being settled in the Regency.

But as the views of the confederates came after that to be separated, and more detached from each other, we must now trace their conduct separately. We therefore return to the Earl of Murray.

In the time of the conferences in England, the Duke of Norfolk, a Nobleman

* Lennox's Register, fol. 213. 235.

possessed of every amiable quality, the first Peer in England in rank and power, and, as Sir James Melvill justly says, at that time the greatest subject in Europe, was one of Elizabeth's Privy Council, and one of the commissioners appointed to treat with the Scotch commissioners on Queen Mary's affairs. This patriot nobleman had very early seen to the bottom of his mistress Elizabeth's views, and had observed the artful contrivances used by her to induce Mary's rebellious subjects, Murray and his party, to defame and accuse their Sovereign: he not only knew Elizabeth's resentment against a hated rival, but likewise, that she intended to quash entirely, and put an end, if possible, to a question that had often before this been agitated in England, to her great disquiet, viz. the affair of settling the succession to the crown of England. The Duke of Norfolk had, under the greatest confidence, and most solemn promises from Murray, of friendship

ship and secrecy, communicated to him his whole thoughts upon that subject: he had told him, that Elizabeth's plan was no other than to spirit them on to accuse their Queen, with a view to disappoint the scheme of settling the succession to the crown of England; he therefore dissuaded Murray from suffering himself to be made the tool and instrument of Elizabeth's designs in defaming his own Sovereign, for which all men would detest him*.

Murray appeared to be convinced, and promised to be directed by the Duke; and a mutual engagement of friendship was entered into between them. Notwithstanding this solemn engagement, at the very first meeting of the English Council, Murray, by a most perfidious and hypocritical behaviour, with tears in his eyes, as Sir James Melvill says †, gave in his infamous accusation against his Sovereign; and, to

* Melvill, p. 181. 186.

† Ibid. p. 185.

crown all, the whole engagement between him and the Duke of Norfolk was immediately disclosed to Queen Elizabeth. The Duke, though vexed to be suspected by Queen Elizabeth as a partisan in any scheme that had the appearance of opposing her sentiments, yet seeing the whole that had passed between him and Murray laid open, and conscious of the rectitude of his own intentions, openly declared, " That
 " during her lifetime he would never offend
 " her, but serve and honour her; and after
 " her the Queen of Scotland, as the only
 " means for eschewing of civil wars and
 " bloodshed, that might otherwise fall
 " out *."

After the conferences in England were broke up, Murray, who by his treachery to the Duke of Norfolk had not only lost the esteem and friendship of that nobleman, but exposed himself to the English

* Melvill, p. 187.

court, justly found himself despised and detested by every body *, and in very uneasy circumstances at London. He wanted to come down to Scotland; at the same time he was in want of money, and had no friends to procure him assistance. Besides, as the Duke of Norfolk had the command of the whole northern parts of the kingdom, Murray knew well, that he could not pass the border in safety, without the Duke's friendship; and how to compass this, and to regain the confidence of a person whom he had so lately betrayed, required the greatest address, and the utmost stretch of his dissimulation and hypocrisy. About this time, Secretary Lethington, from a consciousness of the wrongs he had done the Queen, and willing, in some degree, to make atonement, now privately inclined to her interest; by his means, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a confidant of the Duke's, gave

* Melvill, p. 186.

his assistance on this fatal occasion. The Duke had, by this time, made proposals of marriage to Queen Mary: in order, therefore, to accomplish this matter, Throckmorton convinced him, that it would conduce to the good of his affair to have the friendship of Murray. The Duke suffered himself to be persuaded. So Murray and Secretary Lethington were secretly brought to an interview with the Duke; where we may presume that neither prayers, tears, nor the most solemn promises and protestations of friendship and secrecy, were wanting on the part of Murray. The Duke, noble, generous, and open, forgave all that was past, and opened his breast to Murray and Lethington, as to his purpose of marriage with Queen Mary; and “the Regent promised, “as far” (says Melvill) “as could be devised; so that a greater friendship was “packed up between them than ever*.”

* Melvill, p. 188.

This was all hypocrisy and deceit on the part of Murray, whose intention it never was to forward any such marriage; so that this worthy nobleman, who deserved a better fate, was a second time made the dupe of Murray's profound dissimulation and fair promises, and was soon after most perfidiously betrayed by him. For all this we have the undoubted authority of cotemporary writers; particularly Sir James Melvill, and the author of Crawford's manuscript; the first of whom is so much the professed apologist of Murray, that no objection can lie against his authority in this matter. Sir James's words are, "After the Regent had
"got this money, and taken leave of
"Queen Elizabeth, he was advised, by such
"as had credit with him, to tell the Queen
"all that had passed betwixt the Duke and
"him. And to do it more covertly, it
"was devised, that the Queen of England
"should send for him, pretending to give

“ him some admonition about some order
 “ to be observed upon the border. This
 “ being done, and all things discovered to
 “ the Queen, with a promise, so soon as he
 “ came to Scotland, and had received any
 “ letters from the Duke, by cyphers or
 “ otherwise, he should send them to Eng-
 “ land by express.—After the Regent’s
 “ safe return to Scotland, Mr. John Wood,
 “ his secretary, procured upon the first oc-
 “ casion to be sent to England, with all
 “ the letters which had been sent from
 “ the Duke of Norfolk which could tend
 “ to undo him.—The Duke was sent
 “ to the Tower, and some time after was
 “ beheaded *.”

From this story, which contains so black
 a piece of treachery and ingratitude, carried
 on under the vilest dissimulation, we may
 judge, with certainty, of the real character

* Melvill, p. 189. Glasgow edit.; Crawford, p. 119.
 and 129.; and Robertson, vol. i. p. 437.

of the *gude* or *godly* Regent ; and, without breach of charity, conclude him to have been capable of engaging in the worst of crimes, to serve his own views, and to maintain himself in that government which by the same practices he had obtained. To proceed :

The disposition of Murray appears to have been altogether congenial with that of Elizabeth. In this last affair they co-operated to one point, the detaining of Queen Mary a prisoner in England for life. That being accomplished, Murray now turned his thoughts to Scotland, to the establishment of his government there, by the destruction of the Queen's friends. Lethington was the first to be proscribed. He was now hated and dreaded by the Regent. He had been his associate and confederate through the whole series of the conspiracies which had disturbed the Queen's reign. At seeing the miserable situation to which she was

now reduced, and to which he had fatally contributed, Lethington now felt remorse, and was seriously, though secretly, disposed to serve her.

This did not escape the penetration of Murray. Lethington's late conduct in promoting the Duke of Norfolk's intended marriage, which tended to the restoration of the Queen, could never be forgiven. He determined to take him off, as he had done Norfolk *. Sir James Melvill, from whom we take the following facts, was the intimate friend of the Regent, and tells us he was witness to the transactions †. The Regent, says Melvill, resolved to accuse Secretary Lethington as accessory to Lord Darnley's murder. To bring this about, however, required all Murray's cunning and address. Lethington had been too long his confederate to venture openly to provoke

* Crawford, p. 133.

† Melvill, Glasgow edition, p. 190, et seq.

him

him to take a desperate measure, and to unfold their joint schemes of iniquity. It was necessary, therefore, that the accusation against Lethington should come from another quarter. The Earl of Lennox was under no such restraint: his retainer and dependent, the famous Thomas Crawford, whom he had before brought as evidence against the Queen, appeared before Murray and his council, and accused Lethington as accessary to the late King's murder. Lethington was thereupon imprisoned. Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of Lethington's friends, was then governor of the castle of Edinburgh. They both suspected Murray to be at the bottom of this scheme, and told him so. Sir James Melvill says, that Murray's apology *privately* to them was, "That it consisted not in his power
"to save Lethington from prison, seeing he
"was accused, against his will, for the King's
"murder: but that Grange should know
"his honest part, i. e. intention, thereof at

“meeting.” Lethington, and his friend Grange, were not, however, by smooth speeches, convinced of the sincerity of Murray’s intention: a message was sent by Grange to the Regent, desiring the like justice to be done upon the Earl of Morton and Mr. Archibald Douglas. *Grange himself offered to fight with Douglas, and the Lord Herries with the Earl of Morton*, on that head, “That they were in “the council, and consequently art and “part of the King’s murder*.” To this challenge no answer was made: “only” (continues Melvill) “the Regent *still continued to alledge, that the Lords had taken Lethington against his will.*” Grange, on this, suspecting the worst, thought it not fit to trust to Murray’s fair words; he therefore sent a party from the castle, rescued Lethington, and took him under his own protection. I still follow Melvill.—“Murray and his Councillor (Morton, by

* Melvill, p. 191.

“whom

“whom he was led) were in great per-
“plexity when they saw that Grange had
“taken Lethington to the castle, *supposing*
“*all their councils to be disclosed.* They
“knew not how to help the matter, but
“the Regent was advised to cover his anger
“until a fit opportunity, causing him to
“go up to the castle the next morning;
“for he durst trust Grange, though Grange
“would no more trust him.” Melvill pro-
ceeds: “After this there were many de-
“vices how to entrap Grange, but he
“was advertised to be upon his guard.
“—The Regent,” continues Melvill, “went
“up to the castle, and conferred with
“them, as a friend, of all his affairs, with
“a merry countenance, and casting in
“many merry purposes, minding them of
“many straits and dangers they had for-
“merly been engaged together in. So far
“was he instructed to dissemble; yet the
“violence he did himself herein was easily
“per-

“perceived by such who had been acquainted with him.”

What a picture of dissimulation have we here of this arch-hypocrite. But his artifice and hypocrisy were practised in vain upon such men as Kirkaldy and Lethington, who were too well and intimately acquainted with his duplicity, to be caught in so palpable a snare. Let us see how Murray behaves on this disappointment.—“I knew,” says Melvill, “that the taking of Lethington to the castle, sunk deepest into the Regent’s heart.” Melvill gives the reason as above: “He and Morton supposed *all their councils would be disclosed.*” —If Murray had succeeded in decoying Grange from the castle, Melvill has discovered to us what was to have been his fate. Morton, says he, had four assassins prepared, and lying in wait to have murdered Grange on his entering the
Regent’s

Regent's house, if he could have been drawn from the castle *.

Murray, however, being now firmly supported by Queen Elizabeth, exerted his whole power to oppress and harass those who had lately supported their unfortunate Queen. Of the noblemen who had taken a part for her relief, the most powerful were, the Duke of Chattelrault, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle. Some of these, particularly Huntly, were still in arms for the Queen. Seeing, however, little prospect of succeeding in overturning Murray's government, thus firmly supported, they began to listen to favourable terms held out to them by the Regent, of restoring them and their dependents to their fortunes and estates, which had been forfeited and taken from them.

On the solemn assurances of these terms for himself and friends, Huntly disbanded

* Melvill, p. 192.

his troops, which he had no sooner done, than the false Regent hastened to Aberdeen, summoned all Huntly's friends and adherents to appear before him, and, contrary to faith, obliged them to compound for their late being in arms for their Queen, and exacted from them such enormous sums of money, that most of them and their families, says the Historian of the times, were reduced to beggary and ruin*.

By the same falsehood and treachery, he trepanned and got into his hands, the Duke of Chattelrault and Lord Herries. On the Regent's assured faith, these noblemen were decoyed to come to Edinburgh, to assist in quieting the country, as he pretended; but no sooner were they arrived, than they were made prisoners, and sent to the castle†. By these acts of treachery and oppression,

* Crawford, p. 131. † Melvill, p. 193.

in open violation of every moral obligation towards all who had shewn any degree of loyalty to the unfortunate Queen, Murray became universally detested and abandoned, says the Historian, by every worthy man*; so that when he appeared in public, he was attended by a mean retinue of his dependents only. He was sensible himself of the contempt into which he had fallen, and he became dispirited and dejected at the frequent insults he met with †.

Amongst those loyalists who fought for their unfortunate Queen at the fatal battle of Langside, was a gentleman of the name of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh ‡. He was there taken prisoner, and condemned by the Regent to be hanged, but made his escape, and was forfeited. His wife, who was the heiress of Woodhouselee, willingly abandoned her husband's patrimonial estate

* Crawford, p. 139. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. 140.

of Bothwellhaugh, and betook herself to the estate which she held in her own right. Murray, on this, sent an armed party, who, after stripping the unfortunate Lady, turned her naked out of her house at midnight into the open fields, exposed to the inclemency of cold and darkness. By this inhuman treatment she lost her senses, and became frantic. Her husband, from that moment, vowed the death of Murray, which he put in execution soon after. The Regent held his court at that time at the palace of Linlithgow: there Hamilton lay in wait for him in a house which he had hired, having a wooden gallery fronting the high street, and a postern-gate which opened to the fields, where he had a swift horse, ready saddled, for making his escape. He knew the time when the Regent was to pass along the street on horseback; seized the opportunity, took his aim, and, with a single bullet, shot him through the body; then

then mounted his horse, and escaped to Hamilton, and from thence to France. It is reported of him, that while he was there, a reward was offered him to kill Admiral Coligny: "No," answered he, "unless Coligny had injured me as highly as Murray did *."

Thus died James Stuart Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland. To the supremacy of power he attained, by a steady and determined adherence to an early plan, formed by him for the destruction of his queen and sister; and for that purpose, basely selling himself and the freedom of his country to Queen Elizabeth, who supported him in all his traiterous plots and conspiracies against his native sovereign. He enjoyed his ill-got dignity only two years and five months, in which short space he lived to see himself the object

* Crawford, p. 140.

of universal detestation and contempt: neglected by his former friends, unless by Morton, and those zealots among the Reformed Clergy, whom, by his hypocritical and affected sanctity, he made the useful instruments of his ambition; and deserted by every honest man*!

* Crawford, p. 139. Melvill, p. 194.

C H A P. VII.

Abstract or Outlines of the History of the Times, serving to illustrate the Actions and Characters of the Confederates against Queen Mary, while she was detained a Prisoner in England, during the successive Regencies of the Earls of Lennox, Mar, and Morton.—The Trial, Confession, and Death of Morton.

THE actions and characters of the confederates for the dethroning of Queen Mary, when considered, and weighed in the opposite scale with that of the unfortunate Queen, form a weighty argument in her favour. As we have, in the foregoing pages, traced the conduct of these confederates from Queen Mary's arrival,

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from France, in her own kingdom, until the fatal end of their leader the Earl of Murray, who did not long enjoy the fruits of his traiterous conspiracies against his Sovereign: we now proceed in our research, with regard to Morton and Lethington, the remaining associates, from the above period of Murray's assassination, until their final catastrophe; in which it may be necessary to sketch the outlines of so much of the history of the times as serves to illustrate the characters, and connect with the particular actions of the abovementioned persons.

The premature death of the Earl of Murray was considered by the friends of Queen Mary, as a fatal blow to the adverse party, which they hoped, now that their most active leader, and the bitterest of the Queen's enemies in Scotland, was cut off, might bring about her restoration to the throne of her own kingdom. Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth could not conceal her grief on that event, and the interest which she had in a life which she considered as of great importance to her*.

Morton, by the support of Elizabeth, now became the leader of the party against the Queen. Immediately after Murray's death, he took upon him to call a convention of the Nobility, especially such (says Crawford) as were the Queen's enemies.

The friends of the Queen, upon this, desired the meeting to be adjourned to a

* Elizabeth, says Dr. Robertson, bewailed the death of Murray as the most fatal disaster that could have befallen her kingdom, and was inconsolable to a degree that little suited her dignity. Robertson, octavo edit. vol. ii. p. 1.

Queen Mary too, on hearing of Murray's death, is said to have shed tears for this inhuman brother, whose detestable wickedness and treachery had precipitated her from her throne to a prison. Crawford, p. 144.

longer day, that the whole Nobility might have intimation, and time to attend this convention. Notwithstanding, Morton and his friends met on the day appointed; when the first thing Morton got done, was an act of the convention, absolving Secretary Lethington from the accusation brought against him, as accessary to the late King's murder; "and recognoscing him, as an honest man, in his own place again; and as a good and profitable instrument in this common weill*." After this, the Earl of Lennox was declared Regent of the kingdom.

Confederates in iniquity become always suspicious, and take the first opportunity to get rid of each other.

Notwithstanding this absolution of Lethington, the very same year the Regent Lennox dismissed the Secretary from his

* Crawford, p. 149.

offices, proclaimed him a traitor on account of the late King's murder, and an act of forfeiture was passed against him.

As Morton was the Regent's chief minister at the time, Lethington, with reason, blamed Morton as the cause of his forfeiture. The letters that passed between them on that head, which are still preserved to us, are curious, and give great light into this matter. Lethington wrote to his friend the Laird of Carmichael the following letter, which, it appears, was shown by him to Morton: "He (Morton) was the chief procurer and solicitor of my pretended forfeiture, *for a crime, whereof, he knows in his conscience, I was as innocent as himself.*" Morton's answer to Carmichael is as follows: "When it shall be considered, who had the government, and for what cause the forfeiture past, I think they will not esteem me the chief procurer or solicitor thereof: for the Earl of Lennox

Q 3

" being

“ being the Regent, having the admini-
 “ stration of justice in his hands, and the
 “ cause being the murder of the King his
 “ son, it might be well thought that there
 “ needed little procuration or sollicitation.
 “ — That I know him innocent in my
 “ conscience as myself! the contrary there-
 “ of is true; for I was and am innocent
 “ thereof, but could not affirm the same
 “ of him, considering what I understood
 “ of that matter of *his own confession to*
 “ *myself**.” This was very plain lan-
 guage between these confederates, now
 ready to fall out; but they knew they
 were still in the hands of friends. If Mor-
 ton had himself been entirely innocent,
 and knew Lethington to have been guilty
 of the King’s murder, what could induce
 him, in the act of convention 1570, to
 procure this murderer of the King to be
 then absolved of the crime, *and recognised*

* Bannantine’s continuation of Knox’s History, MS.
 p. 202. Advocates’ library.

as an honest man? Only this, surely, that Lethington at that time was his friend and confederate; afterwards it seems he fell out with him, and had the influence with the Regent *secretly* to procure Lethington's forfeiture; but for fear of provoking him to a full discovery of their joint crimes, he durst not openly act against him.

Morton was well acquainted with the weakness and versatile disposition of Lethington, and the favour he now discovered towards the Queen. The apprehension which he had, of Lethington's laying open to his friend and protector, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, their whole scenes of iniquity, which must have opened the eyes of the public, and operated the Queen's reinstatement, and his own overthrow; this sat brooding in his bosom, and gave him no quiet but in the thoughts of compassing Lethington's death, together with that of

his confidant and protector Grange, who now had openly declared against the Regent's and Morton's party, and left them, and held out the Castle of Edinburgh in the Queen's name.

The Earl of Lennox's Regency was of short duration, one year and four months only; in which anarchy and confusion prevailed over the whole kingdom. Both parties were in arms against each other. Separate conventions, under the name of Parliaments, were held. The one under the authority of the Queen; the other by the Regent, in name of the young Prince, whom, under Murray's Regency, they had proclaimed King. In these separate Parliaments mutual attainders and forfeitures were issued against each other, in consequence of which, the country was destroyed, and much blood shed; while the detestable policy of Elizabeth fomented this destructive civil rage, and by means of
the

the infamous Randolph, her minister, then resident in Scotland, artfully keeping well with both parties, incited them against each other *. In this wicked plan she succeeded

* Of this we have full evidence. Sir James Melvill says, he was sent by Randolph with propositions to Grange, Governour of the Castle, to agree with the Regent, and assist him and his party.—Grange's answer to Randolph by Melvill was, a request to Randolph to speak plain to him.—On this, says Melvill, after some ceremonies and protestations of secrecy, he said, "Tell your friend (Grange) this from Mr. Randolph (but not from the English Ambassador), that "there is no lawful authority in Scotland but the "Queen's; she will prevail at length, and therefore "it is his interest, as the safest course, to join himself to her faction." "This was the help," says Melvill, "he made to the Regent, who believed that "Randolph's embassy (to Scotland) was to advance "his authority." Melvill, p. 204. The finger of Morton here is easy to be traced; he went hand in hand with Randolph in this infamous policy of inciting the contending parties to cut each other's throats.—Melvill proceeds—Randolph knew the animosities which were among the Nobility, and the nature of every one in particular, by his long residence in Scotland. "To
"the

ceeded to her utmost wish. The parties were not only stirred up to shed each other's blood, but to lay waste their lands, and burn and destroy their castles and palaces. Nay more, when at one period there was some prospect of an agreement, to prevent this, Sir William Drury, with a body of English forces, assisted the Regent in plundering and throwing to the ground, the palaces of Hamilton, Linlithgow, and Kinneill, which belonged to the Duke of Chattelrault, then the head of the Queen's party. "This was done" (says Melvill)

"the Ladies, he caused his Queen to send commendations and tokens (presents). He also used his craft with the Ministers (Clergy), offering gold to such as he thought could be prevailed with to accept his offers. He gave largely to all such as he knew were able to serve him in his *design of kindling this fire.*" And his endeavours were as successful as he could wish. While Randolph was thus distributing his English gold with a liberal hand, we need not doubt that his assistant Morton, Elizabeth's best friend and slavish dependant, had his full share of it.

"to

“to enrage them, so as there might be no
“hope of agreement, when the Hamiltons
“saw themselves so much injured *.”

To detail the particulars of these destructive civil commotions, were to deviate from our plan. Short as Lennox's Regency was, it was distinguished by several acts of cruelty and oppression. He appears to have been a weak, impetuous, and rash man, solely guided by the Earl of Morton. At his instigation, on making himself master of the town of Brechin, he caused to be hanged seventy-six of the loyalists, who gallantly defended themselves in the church. He was particularly furious in his rage against the Duke of Chattelrault and the Hamiltons, whom he regarded as the heads of the Queen's party. Besides destroying their houses as above, under appearance of a most precipitate and informal trial, he condemned and put to death, Hamilton,

* Melvill, p. 207.

Archbishop of St. Andrew's, brother to the Duke, as accessory to Lord Darnley's murder*. The most signal enterprize of the Queen's party during Lennox's Regency was the last; in which, though it failed of success, the Regent lost his life. Had its success answered to the greatness and intrepidity of the design, as planned and devised by the genius of Sir William Kirkaldy, in all probability, it would have put an end to the civil war in Scotland, by crushing at one blow the Regent and his adherents: and that it would have succeeded, is equally probable, had it been conducted by Grange himself, who, for his sagacity, intrepidity, and military skill, was esteemed amongst the most eminent captains of the age. But as Governour of the Castle, the place of refuge of the Lords of the Queen's party, to leave so important a post then under his charge, was thought by the Lords to be too hazardous.

* Crawford, p. 195.

The Regent, with Morton and the whole Lords of that party, then held a parliament at Stirling ; secure, as they thought themselves, under protection of the castle, governed by the Earl of Mar, who had the custody of the young Prince. On the evening of the 3d of September 1571, the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, Scot of Balcleugh, and Sir David Spence, at the head of three hundred horse and one hundred foot, set off from Edinburgh, to quell, as they gave out, an insurrection on the Border. They took the road southward, until they got out of view of the city, when making a circuit towards the west, they marched directly to Stirling ; where, without halting, they arrived before day-light. They had with them some of the townsmen, who knew every avenue of the place. In a few minutes all the horses in the town were secured, while, at the same time, the houses of the Regent and of his Lords were surrounded and themselves

selves made prisoners, and ready to be carried off. So far every thing succeeded to the wishes of the assailants; when a retreat being sounded, for calling together the scattered parties, not above one half of them could be got together. Balcleugh's Borderers, intent upon plunder, were straggling in different parts of the town. Mar, in the castle, being by this time alarmed with the noise and tumult from the town, suddenly marched down a band from the garrison, who briskly attacking the assailants, thus scattered, and before they could be collected together, came just in time to snatch the prey from their hands, when ready to be carried off. In the tumult and confusion, the Regent Lennox was mortally wounded. He had been made prisoner early in the attack, and was under the protection of Sir David Spence, to whom he had surrendered himself, and who gallantly defended him, until he himself was slain. Their other prisoners the
assailants

assailants were obliged to leave behind them, to secure their own retreat, which they gallantly effected, with the loss only of a few of their men; Sir David Spence being the only person of rank on that side killed in this signal expedition, which, for greatness of the design, and celerity and intrepidity in the execution, is scarce to be matched in history.—That a handful of men, says the cotemporary Historian*, harassed and oppressed by powerful enemies at home, assisted by the powerful Queen Elizabeth from abroad, having but one place of strength for their refuge and protection in their own country, should venture for a moment to leave that, make a circuitous march of near fifty miles in a few hours, enter a large garrison town, full of people, encounter an armed force, infinitely superior in number, protected by, and lying under the guns of one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and

* Crawford.

surround, in a moment, and inclose, as in a net, the Regent of the kingdom, and his whole Peers, then convened in Parliament; is most astonishing, and, for the generous clemency and moderation shewn by the victors, cannot be too much applauded. Besides the Regent Lennox, they had in their hands Morton, and ten other Lords, the chiefs of their enemies, mounted behind the horsemen, ready to be carried off. They had it in their power, concludes the Historian, to have prevented a rescue, and to have put an end to the civil war at once, by dispatching them. But these generous victors disdained to secure their conquest, or stain their magnanimity, by the blood of their prisoners. They left this Machiavelian maxim, to be followed by the modern butchers in war.

On the death of Lennox, the Earl of Mar was chosen Regent. This Nobleman was not endued with bright parts, or deep reach

reach of mind. He was, however, a man of resolution, and possessed a heart warm to the interest of his country. He was zealous in the cause of the Reformed religion, and deemed Queen Mary's principles incompatible with it. His conscientious zeal had made him an easy conquest to the artful Murray and his partisans. As he was esteemed, however, by both parties as a man of virtue and honour, he was thought a fit person, and worthy to have the charge and keeping of the young Prince in the castle of Stirling, of which he was Governor. Notwithstanding Morton's efforts to succeed Lennox as Regent, the Earl of Mar was invested with that high office.

The new Regent was sensible of the miserable state to which the country was reduced, by the fury of the enraged parties against each other, and bent his skill to bring about a treaty of accommodation between them. The inflammatory practices

of Randolph became so glaring as to open their eyes. Randolph lost credit with both parties, and was recalled by Elizabeth, who sent down Mr. Killigrew in his place; whose secret instructions, however, were to follow the same plan as the former minister. Melvill informs us, that being an old friend of Killigrew, and much in favour with him, he told Melvill in confidence, "That the English Council neither built
 " their course upon the late Regent Len-
 " nox, nor upon this Mar, but entirely
 " upon the Earl of Morton, as confirmed
 " to them by the opinion of Mr. Ran-
 " dolph *." "For albeit" (says Mr. Killigrew) "Morton is not Regent, yet they
 " know that he had a great faction in the
 " country †, which they (Elizabeth and
 " Council) were resolved to increase, so
 " that whoever is Regent, he should get
 " little done without Morton's consent."—

* Melvill, p. 217—219.

† Bribed by English gold.

Killigrew

Killigrew confessed to him, says Melvill, "that in this business his commission and "his mind went not one way; that he "was employed against his will, though "as a servant he durst not disobey his "Princess *."

The well-meaning Regent, ignorant of this double-dealing, was still endeavouring, with all his skill and power, to bring the contending parties to an accommodation,

* Melvill, p. 219.—The fact is certainly true, and is attested by Crawford, p. 244. and other cotemporary Historians. But that the English Minister should thus discover the secrets of his mistress's councils to Melvill is questionable.—Killigrew, at this time, had even a more important and secret commission to negotiate with the Regent and Earl of Morton, viz. To treat with them concerning the delivering up the unfortunate Queen Mary into their hands, on their giving hostages for putting her to death. See Chap. VIII. From the character of the Regent, we may reasonably conclude, that so infamous a treaty would be rejected by him with horror; as we hear no more mention of it, until lately discovered amongst Cecil's papers.

while the artful Morton, whose influence in Council was superior to the Regent's, was as industrious to keep them asunder, by counteracting all his measures. The Queen's friends, in the mean time, Elizabeth having withdrawn her forces, were gaining ground against their enemies in every quarter of the country, and retaliating their late outrages. The good Regent (says Crawford), now seeing the young King's interest daily decline, and that he himself had no more than the empty title of Supreme Magistrate, while the factious Morton ingrossed the whole power to himself and his creatures, fell into a deep melancholy, which suddenly brought him to his grave, universally lamented by all good men *.

About

* Melvill says, it was suspected that the Regent's sudden death was occasioned by poison given to him by Morton. The story is thus told by him.—“The
 “ Regent went to Edinburgh to convene the Lords of
 “ the Council, to shew them the calamities that the
 “ civil

About this time, a most infamous transaction, first begun by the Earl of Murray, and now completed by Morton, ought not to be passed over in silence, as it lays open the hearts of two men, whom no principles of moral rectitude, no ties of gratitude, honour, or honesty, could ever bind, nor any compunction or feelings of humanity could ever turn aside from their base and wicked designs.

Towards the end of Murray's Regency, when the Duke of Norfolk was engaged in negociations with Queen Mary's friends abroad for her relief, an insurrection,

"civil war produced, and *the necessity of an agree-*
"ment, for the good of the country. Meantime,
"until the day appointed for the Council arrived, he
"went to Dalkeith, where he was nobly treated by
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headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, was raised in the north of England. By the vigilance of Elizabeth, however, their forces were soon dispersed, and Northumberland fled into Scotland. There he was humanely protected on the Border by the Elliots *, who designed to have conducted him to the strong fortress of Dunbarton, where he would have been safe under the protection of Lord Boyd and the Hamiltons, the Queen's friends, who commanded there. Regent Murray, vigilant in the cause of Elizabeth, hearing of the place of his retreat, made a sudden march, with a strong body of men, and surrounded the house; when, after a gallant defence made by the Elliots, Northumberland was made prisoner, and sent to the Castle of Lochleven, lately the prison of the unfortunate Queen Mary. It is not to be doubted, that the remorseless Murray, to enhance the merit of his recent treachery

* Crawford, p. 138.

with

with regard to the Duke of Norfolk, would have delivered up Northumberland to Queen Elizabeth. The Regent's death, however, which soon after followed, prevented it. In this remote prison, under the strict guard of Douglas of Lochlevin, the near kinsman of the Earl of Morton, Northumberland was kept till this time*, when Morton was all-powerful. From the obligations which he lay under to Northumberland, whose hospitable roof had afforded a generous protection and asylum to the exiled Morton, where he fled for shelter after the assassination of Rizzio†, the generous Piercy had reason to expect a grateful return, when in similar circumstances he himself was obliged to take shelter in Scotland. Instead of which, the ungrateful wretch, for a sum of money, basely sold and delivered his late host into the hands of Elizabeth‡, who immediately-

* May 1572.

† Crawford, p. 250.

‡ Ibid. p. 249.

caused his head to be struck off. Had we nothing else to lead us to form a judgment of the characters of Murray and Morton, than the black treachery and infamous parts acted by them in the tragical catastrophes of the above unfortunate Noblemen, we must conclude them to have been capable of committing any crime. We return to the thread of our narrative.

Upon the Earl of Mar's death, Morton was elected Regent. During the late Regency, the affairs of that party had greatly declined. The Queen's friends and adherents had so far prevailed, as to become masters of the greater part of the kingdom, and of most of the fortresses, which now declared for her *. In this prosperous situation of the Queen's affairs, the insidious artifice of Elizabeth, by one stroke of policy, defeated every exertion of the friends of Mary, and threw the govern-

* Crawford, p. 250.

ment of the kingdom entirely into the hands of Morton, her own slavish dependant.

Upon the happy turn of her affairs in Scotland, Queen Mary exerted all her influence with the Court of France, to interpose with Queen Elizabeth for her deliverance, and reinstatement in the throne of her own kingdom. Upon this, King Charles was induced to send Mr. Le Croque his Ambassador to England for that purpose. The artful Elizabeth, who for some time past had pretended to stand neuter, and to negotiate between Queen Mary and her rebel subjects, now appeared to be moved in her favour. She declared, however, that before any step was to be taken for the Queen's re-establishment, it was expedient that there should be a cessation of arms, previous to the treaty of peace to be settled between the contending parties. This was specious : it was a well-contrived blind,
to

to stop in the mean time the progress of the Queen's victorious arms, and to disarm her friends. For this purpose Elizabeth sends her Minister Drury to Scotland, who, co-operating with Le Croque, who suffered himself to be duped by the Englishman *, and was blind enough not to see the consequence; they prevail with the loyalists, wearied out and harassed with a civil war, fomented and kept up by Queen Elizabeth, in which their lands and estates had been laid waste, and the country desolated and destroyed, to enter into a treaty of peace with the Earl of Mar, and to submit to his government, or rather Morton's, who had left him only the name of Regent.

* We may judge of Queen Elizabeth's sincerity in pretending at this time to befriend Queen Mary, from what follows. The cessation of arms, previous to the treaty of peace between the contending parties, was agreed to in July 1572; and Killigrew's secret instructions, containing Elizabeth's proposal of delivering up Mary to her enemies, to be put to death, are dated 10th September the same year.

Nothing

Nothing appears more absurd than Le Croque's coolness in the course of this matter: although his coming to Scotland was in behalf of Queen Mary, he joined with Drury in persuading her friends to lay down their arms, and to enter into this treaty, without any stipulation on her behalf, leaving the unfortunate Queen still at the mercy of her remorseless prosecutor*. Grange, Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, only stood out. He refused to surrender that important fortress on terms which, he apprehended, left him and his friend Lethington, and others under his protection, at the discretion of their enemies. By the artful management, therefore, of Morton, they were not comprehended in the treaty. Grange being thus left to make his own terms, at last offered to give up the Castle, on the reasonable

* The secession of arms, or abstinence, as it was called, previous to the treaty of peace, was agreed to in July 1572, in Mar's Regency. The treaty was concluded by Morton, Regent, February 1573.

conditions that he and his friends should be restored to their estates as before. These were artfully evaded, and at last rejected, by Morton, who insisted on an absolute surrender at discretion *; the consequence of which, Grange well knew, would have been certain destruction to himself and Lethington.

With the most undaunted courage and resolution, Grange had likewise a good

* Crawford, p. 295, 296. Melvill, who was employed to negotiate this matter between Morton and Grange, lays open the artful management of the former to prevent Grange from being included in the treaty of pacification.—I reported (says Melvill) to the Regent, how that Grange said he had no quarrel of his own, and was resolved to agree all Scotland, and requested the Regent to agree with them altogether. The Regent answered, “ I will be plain with you, “ *James*, it is not my interest to agree with them “ all.—It is my interest to divide them.—Moreover, “ there has been great troubles in this country, and “ great wrongs and extortions committed, for the “ which some fashion of punishments must be made.” Melvill, p. 233.

head,

head, and was possessed of great military skill. He had, however, too great confidence in himself, and that romantic turn for enterprize and brilliant adventure, that made him despise danger, and overlook obstacles and difficulties which men of cooler parts would have judged to be insurmountable. He determined to stand a siege, rather than surrender upon such precarious terms.

Elizabeth had withdrawn her forces, and Grange expected from France an immediate supply of money, and had a promise that a body of troops should be sent him, if he could hold out the Castle for three months. From its lofty situation, on a steep, abrupt rock, inaccessible on every side except by one narrow passage from the town, and that in the face of several strong batteries of cannon, Grange held the powers of Morton at defiance. His re-

sentment too was fired against the Regent, to a great degree, by a personal injury which his brother Sir James Kirkaldy had lately received from him, which touched him in the tenderest part. As it strongly paints the characters of men in that rude, fierce, and turbulent age, and accounts, in some measure, for the obstinacy and implacability of Grange, and the determined inveteracy of Morton, who knew he had too deeply injured him and his family ever to expect to be forgiven, it shall here be related.

Grange had lately dispatched his brother, Sir James Kirkaldy, to France, to solicit the promised supplies for supporting the cause of the Queen; and Sir James had now returned with a large sum of money. As it was difficult for him to get into the Castle of Edinburgh to his brother, then closely besieged by the Regent, he landed
at

at the fort of Blackness, situated on the Frith of Forth, and at that time in the hands of the loyalists.

The Lady of Sir James, young and handsome, had, in her husband's absence, been debauched by the profligate Regent; and now, by hopes of future greatness, she was led into a scheme for betraying him, with his charge, into the Regent's hands. Sir James Balfour, one of the most corrupt men of that age, who owed every thing to the Queen, was then under the protection of Grange, and in the closest intimacy with him. He now gave intelligence of Sir James Kirkaldy's arrival to the Regent, who took his measures accordingly. The plan was as follows. The Lady got admittance into the fort of Blackness: there, with well-dissembled fondness, she most artfully played her part. The unsuspecting husband, who doated on his wife, fondly wished her to remain with him;

him ; but upon expressing her fear of danger from the tumults of war, in being shut up in a garrison, and by a well-feigned apprehension of being mal-treated on her return, she decoyed her deluded husband into the snare laid for him ; she prevailed with him, under the cloud of night, to come out of the fort, on pretence of escorting her until she was out of danger, when he suddenly fell into the ambuscade laid for him, was surrounded and taken prisoner, and the fort and the money delivered up to the Regent. From this, however, Sir James Kirkaldy luckily made his escape, got into the Castle of Edinburgh, and joined his brother.

For his treacherous spouse, not all the Regent's power could save her from the punishment she merited from the resentment of an injured husband. A few days after she was found strangled in her bed-chamber.

Grange,

Grange, though disappointed in his expected succours from France, continued to make an obstinate defence against the assaults of the Regent; and, in all probability, but for the interference of Queen Elizabeth, would have baffled his utmost efforts. At the solicitation, however, of Morton, orders were sent to Sir William Drury, then on the Border, instantly to join the Regent, before the French should arrive; which he accordingly did, by marching down fifteen hundred men, with a formidable train of artillery, from which he made an incessant fire upon the Castle. Grange never left the walls, resolving to die on the breach, sword in hand. The fortifications were now a heap of rubbish; the provisions began to fail, and the well, which supplied the garrison with water, was almost dried up. The men, too, greatly reduced in number, began to mutiny. Grange, in this extremity, de-

manded a parley, and a truce of two days was granted. Finding he could no longer hold out, his men refusing to stand to their posts, at the expiring of the truce he offered to surrender himself to Drury, upon his solemn assurance, under the sanction of Queen Elizabeth, that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, and that himself and friends should be restored to their liberty and fortunes.

These terms being agreed to by Drury, the Castle was delivered up, Grange and Lethington remaining with Drury prisoners at large, until the articles should be ratified by his mistress. Morton, in the mean time, we may believe, did not look on inactive, nor tamely allow his prey to escape from his hands. Queen Elizabeth, on his remonstrance, not only rejected the stipulation between Grange and Drury, but sent orders to her General, instantly to deliver

deliver up his prisoners to Morton, to be used at his pleasure *. Drury complained in the bitterest terms against Morton for this breach of faith to which he had obliged him, which had covered him with shame and dishonour. He immediately marched back his forces to England, leaving his unfortunate prisoners in the hands of their merciless enemy. The Regent was not long in disposing of them. Grange, with his brother Sir James Kirkaldy, were executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, and their heads set upon the Castle wall. Secretary Lethington, to prevent the like ignominious death, swallowed poison. Thus died two men, who figured amongst the most eminent characters of the age. Their lives furnish a striking lesson to mankind: had their actions been guided by principles of honour and integrity, and by that duty and allegiance which they owed to their

* Crawford, p. 301.

native Sovereign, she, by their assistance in the beginning of her reign, might not only have bid defiance to the base intrigues and conspiracies of Queen Elizabeth, Murray, and Morton, but they might have preserved their country from falling under the slavish dependence to a foreign tyrant, to whose arbitrary doom they themselves at last fell victims *.

Morton

* We shall give a sketch or outline of Grange's portrait.

Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was the head of an ancient family in the county of Fife. He very early signalised himself in the cause of the Reformation. When a youth, he, with his father and brother, were amongst the conspirators in the assassination of Cardinal Bethune, and were attainted upon that account. He went into foreign service, and eminently distinguished himself for his valour and intrepidity on every occasion. On the Queen's return from France to her own dominions, Grange attached himself to the Earl of Murray and his party, and joined in their rebellion against her, on her marriage with Lord Darnley. He was the instrument made use of by Morton for decoying the Queen into their hands at Carberry Hill: and the defeat of her army at the battle of Langside, which
compelled

Morton having now got the better of his adversaries at home, and firmly supported by his powerful friend Queen Elizabeth, gave

compelled her to the fatal step of throwing herself into the hands of Elizabeth, was chiefly owing to the military skill of Grange. That his zeal for the cause of the Reformation might, at first, have led him to join with Murray against Queen Mary, may be allowed; but let us not go too far. We shall hardly find an excuse for his conduct after the affair of Carberry Hill. By his mediation, and as invested with power from Morton and the leaders of his party, the Queen disbanded her army, and on pledging his honour, as guarantee, for being restored to her liberty, delivered herself up to him: under that sanction, he saw her basely insulted, and then sent prisoner to the Castle of Lochleven. This flagrant breach of faith ought to have opened his eyes to the foul designs of his partizans, and called upon him to have vindicated his pledged honour in behalf of his Sovereign, betrayed through his means. So far from that, we see him continuing with the party, and exerting his utmost abilities against the Queen at the battle of Langside. Her defeat there, according to the Historians, was (as already observed) chiefly owing to Grange's conduct; and that defeat, by compelling her to the fatal step of taking refuge in

S 3

England,

gave a loose to his tyrannic disposition. His ruling passions were avarice and revenge. Both these he satiated at once, by directing his vengeance against the loyalists, particularly the Hamiltons and Gordons, who, to the last, had faithfully supported the cause of their Queen *. Many of these were seized and imprisoned, contrary to the late treaty of peace, and obliged to pur-

* Crawford, p. 307. 316, et seq.

England, from her own barbarous subjects, was the ruin of the unfortunate Queen Mary. Let us view him in the most favourable light. His figure was graceful and manly; wise and eloquent in council, and of undaunted courage in the field. In the words of the Historian †, he had all the address and tenderness of a lover in the chamber, and the fire of a lion in the field! His friendship for Lethington, and his protecting him from the vengeance of Murray and Morton, was generous and noble. To Lethington we must ascribe the conversion of Grange to the Queen's cause, in which he continued firm and intrepid to the last, and with his blood atoned for his former demerits.

† Crawford.

chase

chafe their remission by exorbitant fines extorted from them. Although, by his affected zeal for the Reformation, he had got the Clergy on his side, yet his insatiable avarice was so predominant, that having got the richest benefices of the church into his possession, he dealt them out in part only, and with so sparing a hand, that one minister was allotted only for serving the cure of three or four parishes*; the surplus went into his own treasury. "He became, at last," says the Historian, "a burden to his country: "shunned by the good, despised by the "brave, and detested by all!"

For many years, the young Prince was kept a prisoner in the hands of the Regent, during which, "next to the mercy of "God, nothing seems to have preserved "him from being cut off, but Morton's "want of children †."

* Crawford, p. 306.

† Ibid. p. 293.

As the King grew up, and became capable to distinguish his friends, Morton, with regret, beheld them by degrees surround the King, while his own party dropped off from him; with a view to court favour, he chose therefore to make merit of necessity, by resigning the Regency: and soon after an accusation was brought against him to the King and council, as accomplice in the murder of the Lord Darnley, the King's father.

Morton was, upon the 1st day of June 1581, brought to trial before his peers. The Earl of Montrose sat as Lord Chancellor: and upon a full proof of the crime for which he stood indicted, they unanimously pronounced the following verdict: " The
 " jury being ripely advised with his indite-
 " ment, the tokens infallible and most evi-
 " dent, *with the probations produced*, and
 " used for verifying thereof, did, all with
 " one voice, find the said Earl of Morton
 " guilty,

“guilty, *art and part* *, in the foreknow-
“ledge, and concealing the King’s mur-
“der †.”

What were the particular proofs and evidences which appeared against him, we must collect from cotemporary writers, the records being lost. David Moyse, then one of the officers of the King’s household, in his Memoirs, informs us, That the jury of peers found Morton guilty, “in respect of
“fundry evidences of his indictment, pre-
“sented to the jury, some whereof were
“subscribed with his own hand; and that
“likewise it was verified by the deposi-
“tions of some persons that were actors
“in that horrible fact ‡.”

* The meaning of these words is well known in the criminal law of Scotland, and in use at this day, and denotes a confederate and proved associate in any crime.

Vide p. 216.

† Crawford, p. 372. and Goodall, vol. i. p. 330.

‡ Moyse’s Memoirs, p. 54.

In

In the answer given in by the Queen's Commissioners at the conferences at Westminster, to Murray and Morton's accusation, it is there asserted, "That they" (the accusers) "were the writers with their own hand of that devillish Band, the conspiracie of the slaughter of that innocent young gentilman Henry Stuart, late spouse to our Soverane*." And that this piece of evidence was produced against Morton at his trial, may be presumed from the following authentic letter from Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's minister at that time, dated 3d February 1580, which runs thus: "Sir James Balford has been called into Scotland by the Earl of Lennox, without the King's privity; and whereas the said Sir James Balford found in a green velvet desk, late the Earl of Bothwell's, and saw and had in his hands the principal Band of

* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 213.

“the conspirators in that murder, and can
“best declare and witness who were au-
“thors and executors of the same*.”

Morton's chief instrument and confident was Archibald Douglas, whom, from being parson of Glasgow, Morton, after the murder of the King, had raised to the dignity of a Lord of Session, and constantly employed as a tool in all his affairs. This man was universally known to have been one of the chief actors in the King's murder. Upon the Earl of Morton's being accused, Douglas, his confident, immediately fled out of the kingdom, and made his escape. One of his servants, John Binning, was apprehended, and brought to trial, for assisting with his master in the murder. Binning, at his trial, confessed his being an accomplice, and that he was present with his master, Douglas, at the murder of the King.

* Cott. Lib. Calig. 6.

The Earl of Morton was condemned, and beheaded on the 2d of June 1581; and Binning was hanged the day after.

Dr. Robertson is pleased to say, that Morton's trial was violent, irregular, and oppressive. We shall examine his reasons. *1st*, says he, The Earl of Arran, Morton's accuser, in order to extort evidence against him, tortured several of his servants. *2dly*, During the trial, great bodies of armed men were drawn up in different parts of the city. "And *lastly*," says our author, "His jury was composed of the Earl's "known enemies; and though he challenged several of them, his objections "were over-ruled *."

To which it is answered, *1st*, As to Morton's servants being put to the torture, Crawford, from whose authority, it would seem, the Doctor hath this, says no such

* Robertson, vol. ii. octavo edition, p. 81.

thing.

thing. From him it appears, that none of Morton's servants were, on his trial, or previous to it, either tortured, or examined as evidences against him. Crawford expressly says, that *after* Morton's trial, conviction, and confession, as he was known to have amassed, by his avarice and oppression, a prodigious treasure, which he kept concealed, "many arguments were used to persuade him to tell where he had hid his money, which had been carried off in barrels.—His servants were at the same time severely dealt with for that effect; and though some of them were put to the torture, yet no information could be got concerning this vast treasure*."

2dly, As to the armed men in the city during Morton's trial, it is strange that this should be thought irregular by the Historian, considering the account which he

* Crawford, p. 373.

himself

himself gives of the attempt which Queen Elizabeth was then making to save Morton. I shall use Dr. Robertson's own words; "Elizabeth did not fail to interpose with warmth, in behalf of a man who had contributed so much to preserve her influence over Scotland:—She ordered a considerable body of troops to be assembled on the borders of Scotland, and dispatched Randolph her ambassador into that kingdom." Randolph addressed himself not only to James and to his council, but to the parliament: He enumerated the benefits which Elizabeth had conferred on the Scottish nation*; he called on them to remove so pernicious a counsellor from the young King as Lennox, and to rescue Morton out of the hands of his avowed enemy;—and *if force were necessary*, he promised them the protection of his mistress in the

* Let us ask, Was it by inciting the leading parties to destroy each other, and the country, as we have proved; and by that means to secure the dependency of the kingdom to herself?

enterprise, and whatever assistance they should demand, *either of men or money* *.

The slavish dependence under which Morton had shamefully brought the Scottish nation to Queen Elizabeth, and which all the historians of the times, and even Dr. Robertson himself, often expatiates upon, was the worst species of treason in Morton; and the insolent attempt to rescue so enormous a traitor from the public vengeance, was surely an alarm to the King and Parliament to arm in defence of so audacious an enterprise. Randolph, for his insolence, was ordered to leave the kingdom. His character of ambassador, alone, protected him from being sent a prisoner to the Castle.

Lastly, That Morton's jury was composed of his known enemies, I do expressly deny. Of these, several were his known

* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 78.

friends.

friends. The Earls of Argyle and Montrose * were actually engaged in an association to have rescued him, which was discovered, and prevented, by the King's ministers: Montrose was nevertheless chosen chancellor, or foreman, of his jury. We are told indeed by Crawford, that Morton excepted against Argyle, Seton, and Waughton, without giving any particular reason; upon which they purged themselves by oath, that they had no malice against him, and were admitted. How far our author's grounds for pronouncing Morton's trial irregular and oppressive are solid, we now leave to the Reader. The historian was conscious, no doubt, that Morton's conviction, as confederate in Darnley's murder, was a direct vindication of the Queen's innocence.

We have a narrative given us in Crawford's Memoirs, of what Morton is said to

* Crawford, p. 369.

have confessed, as to his knowledge of the King's murder, while he lay under condemnation. This narrative was given out after his death by some of the clergy who had attended him. It is no-wise authenticated as the genuine confession of Morton himself, but delivered to us at second hand, by his friends*. It is certain that Morton, at all times, found his account in keeping well with the clergy; who, in every turn of affairs, were his and Murray's great sup-

* Before Morton went to execution, the Earl of Arran desired him to put his confession in writing, and subscribe it before certain of the clergy that were then present with him. He answered, "Nay, my Lord: "I pray you trouble me no more with these things; "for now I have another thing to muse upon; that "is, to prepare me for my God: seeing I am now at "a point to go to my death, I cannot write in the "state wherein now I am; all these honest men can "testify what I have spoken in that matter." *Crawford, Edinburgh edit. App. p. 21.*

The same cotemporary Historian tells us, that on the scaffold, with his last breath, he declared the Queen innocent of the murder of Lord Darnley.—P. 54.

port: what discoveries therefore he might have made at his death, or how far the narrative of his confession, as given us by these his friends, is just, or contains the whole of what he did confess, may be doubted.

This confession, as given us by Crawford, is as follows:

“ That upon his return from England,
 “ whither he had been banished for the
 “ murder of Rizzio, Bothwell came to him
 “ at Whittingham, and proposed the mur-
 “ der of the King to him, alleging it was
 “ the Queen’s desire to have him dispatch-
 “ ed, as the principal author of Rizzio’s
 “ death, and desired his assistance in the
 “ affair. To which he replied, That if he
 “ (Bothwell) would bring it under the
 “ Queen’s own hand, he might then pro-
 “ bably engage in the business: but that
 “ though Bothwell often laboured to draw
 “ him

“him in, and promised to bring the
“Queen’s own hand-writing, yet he had
“never been able to procure any such
“thing ; and if he had, he (Morton) was
“resolved not to have meddled in it. As
“to Mr. Archibald Douglas, his cousin, he
“said, *he knew he was engaged in the*
“*murder before it was committed ;* and that
“after it was done, he told him that he
“had accompanied Bothwell and Huntly
“to the place, and assisted them in the ex-
“ecution of the fact *.”

By this confession, moulded as we have it from the hands of his friends, Morton acknowledges, that he was made privy to the conspiracy of the King’s murder before it was committed, both by Bothwell, and his own friend and confident Douglas, and that he concealed it notwithstanding. The pretence, that he durst not tell the King, for fear that he should have discovered him

* Crawford, p. 372.

to the conspirators, is frivolous and affected, and can never excuse his crime in looking on while his friends committed the murder.

It may be asked, Why did he not reveal this conspiracy to the Earl of Lennox, the King's father, and to his good friend the Earl of Murray, and others of the nobility, who were at all times more than a match for Bothwell and his party, even though the Queen had been in the conspiracy? But the story of the Queen's being in the plot, he had no reason to believe from Bothwell's tale; and he must have been confirmed of the falsity of his story, from his not being able to shew him any authority for saying so.

On the contrary, what was the part which Morton acted? Although he confesses his knowledge of Bothwell and his cousin Douglas their being the murderers, he was one of the most active *managers* for

for the Earl of Bothwell, *in getting him acquitted at his trial for this very murder*, and soon after joined with several of the nobility *in subscribing the famous Bond of Association*, asserting his innocence, and recommending him as a fit husband for the Queen*. In the same manner he acted with Lethington. We have it fairly acknowledged by Morton's own hand-writing, that he knew Lethington to have been one of the King's murderers; notwithstanding, by an act of the convention, he procures a reversal of Lethington's forfeiture on that account, and obtains him "to be recognised as an honest man."

What plainly shews this confession to be mutilated, is, that although we have Morton's letter to Carmichael, acknowledging that he knew that Lethington was accessory to the murder, yet the confession is silent altogether as to him.

* Vide Chap. v. of this Inquiry.

And, lastly, As for Douglas, his kinsman, who, he also confesses, owned to him his being an actor in the murder, he after that promoted him to be one of the Lords of Session, and employed him as his confident and tool, to the very day of his impeachment, when Douglas made his escape.

But, finally, we have the most direct proof of his actual guilt, in the verdict of his Peers, unanimously finding him guilty, upon a positive proof brought before them, *by writings subscribed by his own hand*, and likewise by the *testimonies of persons who were actors in that horrible scene.*

C H A P. VIII.

Summary of the presumptive Proof against Murray.—Positive Proof against Morton and Lethington.—Characters of the three Confederates.

THUS have we, step by step, traced the three confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, through the several mazes of their intrigues, from the Queen's return from France, to the fatal period of the murder of the Lord Darnley her husband; and from thence to the execution and death of the Earl of Morton, as accessary to that murder. From authentic evidence still on record, we have made appear the close and inseparable junction and alliance of the above confederates, in a continued series

of conspiracies, carried on by them for the destruction of the Queen and her husband, and for overturning the government.

1. We have shown, by undoubted testimonies, that on Queen Mary's return from France into Scotland, a plot was formed by Murray and Lethington, for having her intercepted in her voyage, and made prisoner by the English, in order to set Murray at the head of the government; and that a fleet was actually sent out by Queen Elizabeth for that purpose.

2. That on Mary's resolution to marry the Lord Darnley, opposition was made by the Earl of Murray, who raised an insurrection, and made an attempt to seize her and Darnley; which being frustrated, an open rebellion was raised by him, which terminated in his banishment. And it is clearly proved, that their design was at
that

that time to have slain the Lord Darnley, and to have sent the Queen prisoner to Lochlevin*.

3. It is proved, that while the Queen was far advanced in her pregnancy, the assassination of Rizzio was conspired by Morton and his associates, and executed by stabbing him in her presence. And it is also proved, by the acknowledgment of the conspirators, that Murray and Lethington were engaged with Morton in this conspiracy and assassination†.

4. It is proved, by the authentic declaration of a great part of the Nobility of Scotland, and likewise by the declaration of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, that the *Earl of Murray* and *Lethington*, in presence of Huntly and Argyle, proposed to the Queen *to make her quit of Darnley*;

* Vide this Inquiry, vol. i. p. 376 and 377.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 4, *et seqq.*

which

which she rejected *. And within a few weeks thereafter Lord Darnley was actually murdered.

5. Although Murray, as we have seen, cautiously withdrew himself from the scene at the very instant of the catastrophe, yet from the evidence before exhibited, it is proved, that he was in the foreknowledge of what was to happen. We have laid open his conduct with respect to the trial and acquittal of Bothwell by his confederates, and we have detected the active hand of Murray, in taking the lead in the Bond of Association of the Nobility, which precipitated the Queen into the fatal marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, which he and his confederates, immediately after, proclaimed to be the cause for their rising in arms, imprisoning and dethroning the Queen, and for Murray's usurping the government.

* Vide this Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 17. 30, 31.

To this we may add the clear proof of the confederates using false evidence against the Queen, viz. Nicholas Hubert or French *Paris's confession*, the pretended *consent* of the Queen shown at York, and *the Love Letters and Sonnets* of the Queen to Bothwell, all which we have demonstrated to be false, and that the same came directly from the hand of Murray *, and his associates.

With regard to Morton and Lethington, the same proof as against Murray, not only appears against them, but we have likewise a positive proof joined to it, against each of these associates, viz. the retorted accusation of each of them against the other, joined to the act of forfeiture against Lethington;

* We may now judge with what justice Mr. Hume has given sentence in the case of Murray: "That there is not the least presumption to lead us to suspect him as an accomplice in the murder." We need not wonder, therefore, that this same judge, who has acquitted Murray of every presumption of guilt, should give as positive a sentence against the Queen.

and

and the verdict and sentence passed by the Peers of the kingdom against Morton, as an accomplice in the King's murder; together with his own confession, *that he was in the knowledge of the murder*. So full and direct is the proof of their guilt.

When we now look back and consider the steps taken by Queen Elizabeth for the destruction of the unfortunate Queen of Scots; the deep schemes, and early association formed for that purpose, under her auspices, even before Queen Mary set foot in her own dominions: when we trace back the continued chain of plots, conspiracies, and rebellions against her, as we have before recited, with the characters of the principal actors in these conspiracies, whom we shall now make to pass in review before us; and when we shall consider the force of these combined powers, when acting together under the influence of Elizabeth, the mover of the whole machine,
can

can we wonder at the fall of the ill-fated Mary, the object to which it was directed, helpless and exposed, without a friendly hand to ward her from the blow !

We begin with the principal character in the drama, the Earl of Murray.

James Stuart, the natural son of King James V. bastard brother to Queen Mary, was educated for the church by his father, and endowed with the rich priory of St. Andrew's: "That Monarch," says Bishop Leslie, "wisely foreseeing that it would be "perilous for the state, in case one of such "birth should be advanced to temporal pro- "motion ; which," continues he, "proved "over true indeed, to the trouble of the "King's own posterity, and to the de- "struction of the common-weal." His ambition, however, soon led him into another path: he abandoned the church, though retaining the temporal benefice belonging to it, together with his sanctimonious appearance ;

pearance; under which disguise he placed himself at the head of the Reformed party in the kingdom. His natural endowments were great. He was penetrating, sagacious, and profound. A Machiavel in politics, a consummate hypocrite in religion.

From the pride of sanctity, he was reserved and austere in his manners. In his writing, and in his discourse, he affected the Pious Devotee: hence, with the Clergy, he was named the *Gude or Godly Regent*. With Elizabeth, he was the fawning sycophant, and humble dependent. To his unfortunate sister, in the distress which he had brought upon her, he was brutal and remorseless! From the favourable circumstance of Queen Mary's being in France, upon the death of the Queen-Regent, her mother, we have seen from good authorities *, that Murray, at that time, designed

* Dr. Forbes's Coll. vol. i. p. 30.

to usurp the crown*. After this, upon the Queen's coming to Scotland, he, notwithstanding, so dexterously managed his scheme, that he obtained her full confidence, and the whole authority of government. While his Queen's openness and liberality were pouring upon him accumulated honours and opulence †, his treacherous heart was secretly betraying her to her enemy Queen Elizabeth ‡ abroad, and cutting off her surest friends and firmest supports at home; the most powerful of the Nobility, who adhered to her interest, and to the Catholic religion. The house of Hamilton, the next heirs to the crown after the house of Stuart, was the constant object of his rancour and oppression. The noble family of Gordon, then the most

* Cot. Lib. Calig. C. 9.

† By her liberality he obtained two of the richest lordships in the kingdom; first, the earldom of Marr; and soon after, that of Murray.

‡ Randolph's letters.

powerful

powerful in the kingdom, who loyally adhered to the Queen, was almost to a man extirpated by Murray; and the Earl of Bothwell, who, during the regency of the Queen's mother, and while the Queen herself was in France, had, upon every occasion, invariably attached himself to the service of the Queen, was twice driven into banishment by Murray, and his houses sacked and destroyed. The Queen's marriage with her near relation the Lord Darnley, though apparently most prudent, salutary, and advantageous for the kingdom, as banishing from the state all foreign influence, and securing the succession to the crown of England after Elizabeth, was, from his own ambitious views, opposed by Murray alone, who then formed a conspiracy to have murdered Darnley, and imprisoned the Queen *; which, though

* Keith, p. 229.; Randolph's letters; and this Inquiry, vol. i. p. 374, 375.

at that time defeated, was, as we have related, afterwards accomplished. We shall, from the foregoing facts, sum up his character in the words of Dr. Robertson. Personal intrepidity, military skill, and great sagacity in the administration of civil affairs, it must be allowed, he possessed.—As to his moral qualities, — “ His ambition was
“ immoderate, and events happened which
“ opened to him vast prospects, and led
“ him to actions inconsistent with the duty
“ of a subject. — His treatment of the
“ Queen, to whose bounty he was so much
“ indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful. The dependance on Elizabeth under
“ which he brought Scotland, was disgraceful to the nation. He deceived
“ and betrayed Norfolk with a baseness
“ unworthy a man of honour *.” — “ His sanctity, and shew of religion,” says Crawford, his cotemporary Historian, “ he

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 513. oct. edit.

“used as a cloak to his crimes*.”—Such was Murray!

James Douglas, Earl of Morton, was early and closely connected with the Earl of Murray, from long habits of intimacy, and likewise from ties of affinity, the mother of Murray being the wife of Douglas of Lochlevin, the near kinsman of Morton. Bold, daring, and ambitious, with a genius restless and intriguing, he was the active hand in all Murray's plots. Of infinite cunning and address, he could turn himself into any shape to serve his purpose. He was one of those restless spirits fit to disturb the peace of nations. Without one good quality of the heart, without honour, without honesty! he was avaricious, rapacious, cruel, and revengeful! When by the imprisonment of his Sovereign and benefactress, who had loaded him with wealth

* Crawford, p. 374.

and

and honour *, he had secured her in England a captive for life, he, by selling himself and his country to Elizabeth, through her interest and support attained to be Regent of the kingdom. He then turned against the former associates in his crimes, Lethington and Grange, whom he betrayed, and pursued to death. What may seem strange at this day, such was the amazing depravity of those sanctified times, this man, though stained with every vice, and living in the open violation of every principle of virtue and morality, by a well-affected zeal for the Reformation of religion, and by attaching himself to Knox, and others of its leaders, gained to his interest the whole Clergy, who at all times were his great support. “By innumerable crimes,” says the Historian of those times, “he at-

* Mary made him one of her Privy Council, employed him as her Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, and promoted him to the highest office in the kingdom, Lord High Chancellor.

“tained to the height of power: murder
 “then became habitual to him.” To sum
 up his character, he was the Cinna of
 his time. He had a head to contrive,
 and a hand to execute, any manner of
 villany !

William Maitland, son of Sir Richard
 Maitland * of Lethington, is, by the testi-
 mony of all the Historians, allowed to have
 been one of the brightest geniuses of his
 time. As a speaker, he was graceful, elo-
 quent, and persuasive. His State-papers
 are written with precision and acuteness,
 and with that perspicuity and elegance of
 language, which shews the Scholar, the
 Gentleman, and the Statesman. Both the
 father and son owed their promotion to two

* Sir Richard Maitland was amongst the best Poets
 in that age of great Poets, whose works have come
 down to us, viz. Dunbar, Bellenden, Henryson,
 Montgomery, &c. Buchanan, as a Latin Poet, stands
 unrivalled.

of

of the highest offices in the state, to the bounty and generosity of the Queen. The father was Lord Privy Seal, the son Principal Secretary of State. His office, and great talents for business, necessarily gave him the lead in all the weighty matters of Government, and he appears to have been much in the grace and favour of the Queen. Pity it was, and unfortunate for himself, as well as his mistress, that he should have forfeited that grace, together with his own honour, by mixing with her traitorous subjects, to become the tool and instrument in all their treasonable plots and conspiracies against her. But Lethington, with the finest parts, was versatile and inconstant; unfixed in principle, or rather void of any: of a restless mind, he could not live without intrigue and plot. Although engaged in the conspiracy for Rizzio's assassination, yet, by keeping himself aloof from the scene, he preserved his place at court. At the consultations at the Castle of Craig-

millar, we see him closely confederated with Murray and Bothwell, and the chief spokesman at that Council. Although deep in the conspiracy for the murder of Lord Darnley, we see him joined with Morton in making the Queen a captive at Carberry Hill, and sending her a prisoner to Lochlevin. On her escape, we see him in arms against her at the battle of Langside; and on that event, on the Queen's throwing herself under the protection of Queen Elizabeth, we see Lethington accompanying Murray and Morton into England, with their infamous accusation against their Sovereign. Here, struck with remorse, we begin to see him act but faintly, and he is there suspected by his party of discovering their councils to Queen Mary. He now throws off the mask, and engages heartily in promoting the marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk. When, by the infamous treachery of Murray, that affair is discovered to Queen Elizabeth, and the Duke

Duke brought to the scaffold, we then see Murray and Morton lying in wait for Lethington, and seeking every means underhand to destroy one whom they could not now trust, and were afraid of his discovering their whole scenes of iniquity*, in which he had been their accomplice: in that at last they were successful. These men, Murray and Morton, were steady to their plan; determined, ruthless, and remorseless! Lethington, though unprincipled, had a heart in which there was some portion of the milk of human kindness. At times, he felt remorse and compunction for his crimes; at times, he lamented the ungrateful part he had acted to his Sovereign.—“A Princess,” (exclaims he) “so

* I knew (says Melvill, after Murray's unsuccessful attempt to get Lethington into his hands) that his rescue, by Grange, and taking him into the Castle, sunk deepest into the Regent (Murray's) heart; and that his dissimulation and false practices moved Grange, who had been his greatest friend, to be jealous of him.

“ gentle and benign in her behaviour to
 “ all her subjects, that wonder it is, that
 “ any could be found so ungracious as
 “ once to think evil against her *.” Poor
 Lethington!—Wanting nothing but an
 honest heart, what a striking lesson does
 thy life afford to mankind? Of how little
 avail in the sight of Heaven, and how little
 conducive to happiness, are the finest parts
 and the brightest genius, when unaccom-
 panied with moral rectitude! While
 history requires strict truth and impar-
 tiality in displaying the characters thus pass-
 ing in review before us, Pity must shed
 a tear over the frailty of Lethington †.

* Keith, p. 232.

† It is finely said of Lethington, by Mr. Whitaker,
 “ He had none of that malignity of spirit, which
 “ formed a Murray, and a Morton. He wanted,
 “ however, that rectitude of principle, which fixes a
 “ man perpetually in the presence of God; which tells
 “ him, that the broad eye of Heaven is continually
 “ open upon him; which exhibits to his mind the pre-
 “ sent *Witness*, the future *Judge*, and the eternal
 “ *Avenger*!”

Now,

Now, to the above characters of the three associates, let us oppose that of Queen Mary; for which in general I might refer to her history by Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume. I speak not here of that exquisite beauty of countenance, elegance of person, and gracefulness of manners, which, joined to her other external accomplishments, by the testimony of all the cotemporary writers, rendered her the admiration of the age! It is allowed she possessed an exalted mind, and a heart warm, honest, and unsuspecting. A sweetness of disposition shone through all her actions, accompanied with an easy affability, modest decorum, and native dignity and grace. With many amiable virtues, however, Mary had weaknesses and failings, which contributed to her ruin. But these were the failings of humanity. With good sense and penetration superior to most of her sex, she was diffident of her own judgment, which made her a prey to the imposition of those whom she

she trusted as her friends, though leagued together for her destruction. She was credulous to the greatest degree of weakness, as we have remarked in several preceding instances. Nothing can excuse her taking into favour her bastard-brother Murray and his associates, and listening to their counsels, after the repeated proofs of their detected treason against her; and her still greater folly, her fatal confidence in the insidious promises of Queen Elizabeth, whom, on every occasion, she had experienced to be her inveterate enemy! But Mary had no resentment for past injuries. The least profession of repentance, was followed not only by forgiveness, but by restoration to her favour. We have seen her weep over the high offences of a weak and worthless husband. When in her solitary prison, helpless and without prospect of relief, when the account of Murray's death was brought to her, whose whole life had been a constant and continued chain

of plots and conspiracies against her, and had at last brought her to that prison, the sense of her own misfortunes was suspended and laid asleep; she burst into tears, she wept for him as her brother, while his crimes and offences against her were entirely forgotten! Such was Queen Mary, by the general assent of the Historians of those times. It is not denied, by the Historians on the other side of the question, that she maintained the most unblemished character of virtue and reputation from her infancy, until the fatal period of her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell. “In order,” says Mr. Hume, “to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man*.” What is not so easy to be accounted for, these Historians, after plunging her precipitately into the greatest of crimes, agree that she as suddenly reco-

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 622.

vered

vered herself, and from that period resumed her former virtue and dignity. “ This “ Princess,” says Mr. Hume, “ recovering “ by means of her misfortunes, and her “ own natural good sense, from that *deli-* “ *rium* in which she seems to have been “ thrown during her attachment to Both- “ well, behaved *with such modesty, judg-* “ *ment, and dignity, that every one who* “ *approached her was charmed with her* “ *demeanor*, and her friends were enabled, “ on some plausible grounds, to deny the “ reality of those crimes which had been “ imputed to her *.” Such an instance, I believe, is scarce to be met with in history, and of which common experience furnishes us with no example :

Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,

Curat reponi deterioribus.

HORAT.

Allowing Queen Mary to have been innocent, her character, from her birth to her

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 515.

death,

death, is uniform and consistent: suppose her the reverse, she is a phenomenon scarce to be accounted for!

We hasten to a conclusion. Were the question entirely problematical, were we to decide solely upon a comparrison of the character of Queen Mary with that of Murray and his associates; could we hesitate in giving judgment, in pronouncing the Queen innocent; and the usurpers of her throne and government guilty of the murder of Lord Darnley?

Upon the whole, we submit to the Public whether the conclusions in the two propositions mentioned in the 1st Chapter of the 2d Part, vol. i. p. 343, 344. do not naturally follow, viz.

That as it is proved, that the confederates for taking away the King's life, were Morton and Lethington, the very persons who afterwards brought an accusation
against

against Queen Mary for that very crime ; therefore she herself could not have been in that confederacy, nor guilty of that crime ; and that, for the above reasons, the three confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, must be held, one and all of them, as *socii criminis*, guilty of the crime of which they had unjustly accused Queen Mary.

C H A P. IX.

Queen Elizabeth's Conduct as to Queen Mary.

—*Elizabeth's severe Treatment of that Princess in England.*—*Secret Negotiation for putting her to Death in Scotland.*—*For privately putting her to Death in England.*—*Severe Treatment of Queen Mary after her Condemnation.*
—*Her last Letters to Queen Elizabeth.*
—*Death of Elizabeth, and Character.*

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, brought together in a collected view the evidence on both sides, I shall conclude with a view of the severe treatment which Queen Mary suffered from the hands of Queen Elizabeth while under her confinement

ment in England ; in which a new scene, hitherto buried in obscurity, shall be exposed to light ; from which it doth appear, that the death of that unfortunate Queen was contrived and determined many years before her trial on account of Babington's conspiracy.

We have occasionally, in the course of this work, taken notice of the underhand part acted by Queen Elizabeth, in disturbing Mary's government during the whole course of her reign, by fomenting the disaffection of her subjects, and aiding and supporting them in a continued chain of conspiracies and insurrections*, until the accomplishment of her scheme of driving the unfortunate Princess to take refuge in England. Nothing can exceed the steady perseverance of Elizabeth in her plan of getting into her hands her unsuspecting

* *Vide* this Inquiry, vol. i. p. 375, *et seq.*

rival,

rival, nor the dissimulation practised by her to blind Queen Mary, and to throw her off her guard. Elizabeth's early plot to have Mary sent a prisoner to England, has already been proved*, while at the same time she was making public declarations against her rebellious subjects, whom privately she supported. When Mary was confined by them in Lochleven castle, Elizabeth made a shew of soliciting for her liberty†, which, by giving the least aid to Mary's friends and partisans, she could have compelled Murray and Morton to have granted. On Queen Mary's escape from their hands, she invited her to take refuge in England, where she assured her, that all honours due to a Queen should be paid to her. All this stands clearly proved by unquestionable evidence. We shall here produce one testimony more, under Secre-

* Randolph's Letters; Inquiry, vol. i. p. 376, 377; Melvil, p. 117. Glasgow edition.

† Camden, p. 489.; Robertson, vol. i. p. 460.

tary Cecil's own hand *, in a paper intituled, *Pro Regina Scotorum*, which begins thus :

“ She (the Queen of Scots) is to be
 “ helped ; because she came *willingly* into
 “ the realm, *upon trust* of the Queen's
 “ Majesty.”

“ She trusted to the Queen's Majesty's
 “ help, because she had in her trouble re-
 “ ceived *many messages to that effect*.”

“ No private person coming into the
 “ realme for refuge ought to be con-
 “ demned, if he requyre to be heard, with-
 “ out hearing.”

Mary's remonstrance to Elizabeth on
 this head, is most pathetic † : “ Pardon
 “ me,”

* Cot. Lib. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 99.

† Excusez moy, il m'importe, il fault que je vous
 parle sans dissimulation. Otez, Madame, hors de
 votre esprit que je suis venue ici pour sauvete de ma
 vie ;

“me,” (says she in a letter to Elizabeth)
“while I speak to you from my heart, and
“without reserve. Imagine not, that I was
“so destitute of friends as to fly to you for
“the safety of my life. From choice, I
“threw myself into your arms, as my
“nearest relation, and assured friend; and
“I did you honour, as I imagined, in
“chusing you before any other Prince, to

vie; le monde ni toute Ecosse ne m'ont pas renée.
Jais choisie entre tous autres princes, pour ma plus
proche parente et parfaite amie, vous faisant, comme
j'ay supposée, l'honneur d'être nommée la restituéressé
d'une Royne qui pensoit tenir ce bienfait de vous.
Vous recevez un mien frere bastarde à votre présence
fugitif de moy, et vous me la refusez; que je m'assure
me sera tant plus delayée que ma cause est juste. Pour
ce que vous dites, que vous etes conseillée par gens de
grande qualité, de vous garder en cette affaire. Ja à
Dieu ne plaise, que je soye cause de votre déshonneur, au
lieu que j'avois intention de chercher le contraire.
Pourquoi, je vous supplie, aydez moi, m'obligeant
à vous de tout; ou soyez neutre, et me permettez de
chercher mon mieux d'ailleurs. *Anderson, vol. iii.*
p. 94. et seq.

“ restore me to my throne. You received
 “ into your presence my bastard-brother,
 “ stained with the crime of rebellion against
 “ me, while you deny me that favour;
 “ while you refuse even to hear me in my
 “ own vindication. As to what you say, of
 “ your being advised to act circumspectly
 “ in this matter, God forbid I should be
 “ the cause of bringing any reflection upon
 “ your honour; I rather imagined I should
 “ have added to your glory, by giving you
 “ an opportunity of displaying your power,
 “ and generosity of heart, in the relief of
 “ an injured Princess. Aid me, therefore,
 “ I conjure you, and let me owe every
 “ thing to you; or suffer me to depart, to
 “ implore that assistance from other hands,
 “ which you are pleased to refuse me.”

How forcible is the language of the
 heart! How was it possible for Elizabeth
 to resist the cries and complaints of a dis-
 tressed Queen, her nearest blood-relation,
 who

who had thrown herself under her protection? How could she steel her heart against the common feelings of humanity? But Elizabeth was a stranger to such weakness. The bird whom, with so much skill and address, she had allured into her snare, was not to be set at liberty for a song. Mary was now left to the bitter reflection, that her own rash credulity had undone her; and soon after to verify that fatal truth, That to a captive prince it is but a step from a prison to the grave.

That Elizabeth's policy reached beyond the confining the person of Mary, has not hitherto been proved. A letter under Cecil's hand, lately discovered among his papers in the Hatfield library *, now unfolds the dark design that was early formed for taking away the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary.

* This remarkable letter was overlooked by the two Historians, until it was first noticed by the Author of this Inquiry.

In the years 1570 and 1571, Queen Mary's affairs in Scotland were in a prosperous situation. The chief of the Nobility and Gentry had taken arms for her against the Regent: they had got possession of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and of the capital of Edinburgh, from whence they had expelled her enemies.

With regard to the Queen's situation in England, the treaty of marriage betwixt her and the Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant, the greatest and most popular Nobleman in England, supported by the most powerful of the English Nobility, who favoured Queen Mary's title to that crown, was a mortifying proof to Elizabeth of the strength of Mary's friends in that kingdom.

Two different expedients offered themselves to Elizabeth to follow, with respect to the Queen of Scots: To perform the promises

mises made to her, and to replace her with splendour upon her throne ; or, To detain her a prisoner in England for life.

Elizabeth was too much a politician, and a stranger to such generous sentiments as directed her to follow the first. The last, to keep captive, in the midst of so many friends, a Sovereign Princess, the presumptive heir to her throne, was both difficult and dangerous. She judged it safest to follow a third expedient ; to get rid of her prisoner at once, by cutting her off. The only difficulty was, to screen herself from the odium of so black a deed.

The death of the Duke of Norfolk, who, by Murray's treachery, was brought to the scaffold in June 1572, secured Elizabeth from all apprehension at home of any danger from Mary. This was followed by a treaty of peace with France ; which put an end to her rival's negotiations in that

kingdom, and all her hopes of relief from thence. At the same time, by the interposition of the French and English ministers in Scotland *, who now acted there in concert, a truce was settled between the contending parties; which put a stop to the success of the Queen's friends, and allowed her enemies to draw breath, and to recover their strength.

The Earl of Mar was then Regent of Scotland. Historians give him the character of an honest man, worthy of the trust given to him, of the care and custody of the young King.

It appears, that Murray, during his Regency, had offered to free Elizabeth of her rival †, if she were delivered into his hands; but this scheme was frustrated by

* Du Croc and Drury.

† Lesly's Negotiations, p. 83, 84. Robertson, vol. i. p. 510. octavo edition.

his death. Elizabeth thought the present situation of her affairs favourable for putting the same scheme now in execution. For this purpose her minister Killigrew was sent down to Scotland to bring about this vile affair. His instructions, in the handwriting of Cecil, are as follows :

Secret Instructions for H. Killigrew, September 10, 1572.

[In Lord Burleigh's hand.]

“ **W**HER you ar by other instructions
“ directed to treat both with the
“ King's party, and others of the castell,
“ for the better obfervation of the late ac-
“ cord for the abftynence; and next that,
“ secretly to informe some of the principal
“ of either party of the late horrible uni-
“ versal murder in France, and thereupon
“ to move them to have good regard to
“ that

“ that state, that the lyke be not there at-
 “ tempted.

“ 2. Although these matters are of rea-
 “ sonable moment to move to cawse you to
 “ be sent thither at this tyme ; yet, upon a
 “ singular trust, yow are chosen to deale in
 “ a third matter, *of a farr gretar moment,*
 “ wherein *all secrecy* and circumspection is
 “ to be used, as yourself confidere that the
 “ matter requireth.

“ It is found dayly more and more, that
 “ the contynuanee of the Quene of Scots
 “ here, is so dangerous, both for the per-
 “ son of the Quene’s Majesty, and for her
 “ state and realme, as nothing presently is
 “ more necessary, than *that the realme might*
 “ *be delivered of her ; and though by justice*
 “ *this might be done in this realme,* yet for
 “ certain respects, it seemeth better that she
 “ be sent into Scotland, to be delivered to
 “ the Regent and his party, so as it may
 “ be

“ be by some good means wrought, that
 “ they themselves would secretly require it;
 “ and that good assurance may be given,
 “ that as they *have heretofore many tymes,*
 “ *pecially in the tyme of the Quene’s former*
 “ *Regents, offered,* so they wold, without
 “ fayle, *proceed with hir by wey of justice,*
 “ *so as nether that realme nor this shuld be*
 “ *dangered by hir hereafter ; for otherwise to*
 “ *have hir and to kepe hir were of all other*
 “ *most dangerous.* Now, how this may be
 “ compassed yow ar to confidre, at yowr
 “ coming thyther, with whom of the King’s
 “ party it were best for you to deale, mak-
 “ ing choise of some such as yow shall
 “ fynde best perswaded of the *perill to that*
 “ *state,* by her continuance *ether here or*
 “ *there,* and such as you shall fynde most
 “ addicted to the King ther ; and with
 “ such you may as of yourself *secretly con-*
 “ *ferr ;* and if otherwise it shall not be
 “ directly moved to yow, than you may
 “ give the said party some lykelehood to
 “ think,

“ thynk, that if ther were any ernest means
 “ secretly made by *the Regent* and the *Erle*
 “ *Morton*, to some of the Lords of the
 “ counsell here, to have hir delyvered to
 “ them, it might be at this tyme better than
 “ at any tyme heretofore brought to pass,
 “ that they might have hir, so as ther *might*
 “ *be good surety gyven*, that *she shuld receive*
 “ *that she hath deserved ther*, by ordre of
 “ *justice*, whereby no furder perill shuld
 “ *ensue*, by hir escaping or setting hir upp
 “ *ageyn*. For otherwise you may well saye,
 “ that the Counsell of England will never
 “ assent to delyver hir out of the realme;
 “ and for assurance none can suffice but
 “ hostages of good valew, that is, some
 “ children and near kinsfolk of the Regent,
 “ and the *Erle Morton*.

“ Herein you shall, as commodite shall
 “ serve yow, use all good spede, *with the*
 “ *most secrefye* that yow can, to understand
 “ ther mynds; and yet so to deale to your
 “ utter-

“ uttermost, that this matter might be ra-
“ ther oppened to you, than yourself to
“ seem first to move it; and as you fynde
“ ther disposition, so to accelerate ther dis-
“ position, and to advertise *with all spede*
“ *possible; for so the tyme requyreth, that*
“ *celerité be used to have this doone* before
“ the French enter any deeper ther in cre-
“ dit; and that *with all secrefye*, lest it be
“ interrupted by some further dangerous
“ practise*.”

What a detestable design does this lay open to us! What an infamous treaty was here set on foot, for the blood of a helpless Princess, then under the protection of Queen Elizabeth, who by all laws human and divine was bound to have protected her! We may conclude from the character of the Regent Earl of Mar, that this infamous proposal was rejected by him with

* Murden's State-papers, p. 224.

detestation,

detestation, as it was never more heard of. But from this attempt it is easy to see, that the fate of the unfortunate Mary was sealed, and her death determined. The delay to give the fatal stroke, was owing to no change of purpose in Queen Elizabeth, but to the looking out for some plausible pretext for executing her design *. She had got over all scruples as to putting her rival to death, provided it could be done with secrecy; but had not the courage to avow openly her purpose, out of fear of endangering her popularity. This cowardly plan she kept up to the last; and while panting in secret for the blood of the helpless Queen of Scots, she, with the grossest dissimulation, affected concern, sighs, and

* It is not to humanity, says Dr. Robertson, that we must ascribe her forbearance so long: at the moment of her subscribing the writ that gave up a woman, a Queen, her own nearest relation, into the hands of an executioner, she was capable of making a jest; *vol. ii. p. 165.*

groans,

groans, on the accomplishment of her long-projected scheme.

The letters written by her to Sir Amias Paulet, Queen Mary's keeper in her prison at Fotheringay castle, disclose to us the true sentiments of her heart, and her steady purpose to have Mary privately assassinated. Paulet, a rude, but an honest man, had behaved with great insolence and harshness to Queen Mary, and treated her with the utmost disrespect. He approached her person without any ceremony, and usually came covered into her presence, of which she had complained to Queen Elizabeth *. He was therefore thought to be a fit person for executing the above purpose. The following letter from Elizabeth displays a strong picture of her artifice and flattery, in order to raise his expectations to the highest pitch :

* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 165.

“ To

“ To my loving AMIAS.

* “ *Amias, my most faithful and careful*
 “ *servant*, God reward thee treblefold for
 “ the most troublesome charge so well
 “ discharged.—If you knew, *my Amias*,
 “ how kindly, beside most dutifully, my
 “ grateful heart accepts and praiseth your
 “ spotless endeavours, and faithful actions,
 “ performed in so dangerous and crafty a
 “ charge, it would ease your travail, and
 “ rejoice your heart; in which I charge
 “ you to carry this most instant thought,
 “ that I cannot balance in any weight of
 “ my judgement the value that I prize you
 “ at, and suppose no treasure can coun-
 “ tervail such a faith, and shall condemn
 “ me in that fault that yet I never com-
 “ mitted. If I reward not such desert, yea

* This curious letter, mentioned by none of our historians, I find in a collection of remarkable trials, published, London 1715; Appendix, N^o V.

“ let

“ let me lack when I most need it, if I ac-
“ knowledge not such a merit, *non omnibus*
“ *datum* *.”

Having thus buoyed up his hopes and wishes, Walsingham, in his letters to Paullet and Drury, mentions the proposal in plain words to them. “ We find by a
“ speech lately made by her Majesty, that
“ she doth note in you both a lack of that
“ care and zeal for her service, that she

* What a picture have we here, of the heroine of England! Wooing a faithful servant to commit a clandestine murder, which she herself durst not avow!

The portrait of King John, in the same predicament, practising with Hubert to murder his nephew, then under his charge, shews how intimately the great Poet was acquainted with nature!

O my gentle Hubert,
We owe thee much! Within this wall of flesh,
There is a soul, counts thee her creditor,
And with advantage means to pay thy love.
And, my good friend, thy voluntary oath,
Lives in this bosom, dearly cherished.

“ looketh for at your hands, in that you
 “ have not in all this time (of yourselves,
 “ without other provocation) found out
 “ some way to *shorten the life of the Scots*
 “ *Queen*, considering the great peril she is
 “ hourly subject to, so long as the said
 “ Queen shall live.”——In a Postscript:
 “ I pray you, let both this and the inclosed
 “ be committed to the fire; as your answer
 “ shall be, after it has been communicated
 “ to her Majesty, for her satisfaction.” In
 a subsequent letter: “ I pray you, let me
 “ know what you have done with my
 “ letters, because they are not fit to be
 “ kept, that I may satisfy her Majesty
 “ therein, who might otherwise take of-
 “ fence thereat *.”

What a cruel snare is here laid for this
 faithful servant ! He is tempted to commit
 a murder, and at the same time has orders

* Dr. Mackenzie's *Lives* ; Freebairn, p. 270, &
seq.

from

from his Sovereign to destroy the warrant for doing it. He was too wise and too honourable to do either the one or the other. Had he fallen into the snare, we may guess, from the fate of Davidson, what would have been his. Paulet, in return, thus writes to Walsingham:—"Your letters of yesterday coming to my hand this day, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed; which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy, as living to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direction of my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My goods and life are at her Majesty's disposition, and I am ready to lose them the next morrow if it shall please her.—But God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my

“ poor posterity, and shed blood without
 “ law or warrant *.”

Thus was Elizabeth put to the necessity of signing with her own hand the sentence for bringing Queen Mary to the block.

“ One scene more,” says Dr. Robertson †, “ of the boldest and most solemn
 “ deceit, remained to be exhibited. She
 “ undertook to make the world believe,
 “ that Queen Mary had been put to death
 “ without her knowledge, and against
 “ her will. Davidson her Secretary, who
 “ suspected nothing of her intention, fell
 “ a victim to her artifice.” His catastrophe
 is well known. For obeying her orders,
 he was deprived of his whole fortune, and
 doomed to languish the remainder of his
 days in a prison.

* Dr. Mackenzie's Lives, p. 273.

† Robertson, vol. ii. p. 198.

The bold and singular step of Elizabeth, in bringing a Sovereign Princess to trial before a foreign court, who had thrown herself voluntarily under her protection; the trying her by foreign laws, upon writings alleged to be sworn to by persons whom they were afraid, and refused, to bring into her presence, was a flagrant violation of every principle of justice and humanity.

For the particulars of so extraordinary a trial, I refer the Reader to the State Trials. We shall conclude our work with a display of the magnanimous behaviour and deportment of the Queen of Scots, in the closing scene of her life, from the authentic letters written by her in the awful period, after sentence of condemnation had passed on her. During that dreadful interval, the inhumanity of Elizabeth was not disarmed. We have recently seen her attempt to have the unfortunate Queen of Scots privately

murdered: mean while she studied to embitter the few hours of her life. The manner in which she caused the sentence of condemnation to be intimated to Queen Mary, we shall give from a letter written by the Queen to her friends in France on that occasion.

“It is now intimated,” says she, “by
 “orders of their Queen, by the mouth of
 “Lord Buckhurst, Sir Amias Paulet, and
 “Sir Dreu Drury, that the States of Par-
 “liament have condemned me to death.
 “—The day before yesterday Paulet and
 “Drury returned to speak with me:
 “They said, that as I had shewn no re-
 “pentance, or sense of my offence towards
 “the Queen, she had commanded that my
 “canopy of state should be taken down,
 “considering me as already dead; de-
 “prived of honour or dignity as a Queen,
 “I replied, That as God of his goodness
 “had called me to that dignity, to him
 “alone,

“ alone, with my spirit, I would resign it.
“ That I acknowledged neither their Queen
“ as my superior, nor their Parliament nor
“ Council as my Judges; that they had no
“ other power over me than that of rob-
“ bers over the helpless that fall into their
“ hands.—On this, Paulet having called
“ for seven or eight of his guards, he made
“ them pull down my state canopy; he
“ then sat himself down on it, and put on
“ his hat *.”

What a picture of barbarity and insolence in the unfeeling tyrant and her servants, is here exhibited! Not all the studied insults of Elizabeth towards her helpless prisoner in the last scenes of this tragedy, could abase the exalted spirit of Queen Mary, or draw from her the least unbecoming word or reflection! In the midst of all her distress she rises superior to her insulting rival! She addresses her last letter to Elizabeth in

* L'Histoire d'Elizabeth, par M. Keralio, tom. v.

the following strain, which displays a magnanimity, and that native elevation of soul which Queen Mary to the last sustained.

“ Madame,

“ With my whole heart, I render thanks
 “ to God, who is pleased, by your sentence,
 “ to put a period to the long and
 “ sorrowful pilgrimage of my life; nor do
 “ I wish it to be prolonged, having long
 “ enough experienced its bitterest distresses.
 “ I only supplicate your Majesty,
 “ as I have no favour to expect from those
 “ ministers who hold the first rank in your
 “ state, that I may owe to you alone the
 “ following favours.

“ First, As I cannot expect to be allowed
 “ the rites of sepulture in England, according
 “ to the Catholic solemnities, used
 “ by your Royal ancestors as well as mine;
 “ and as in Scotland they have profaned
 “ and violated the ashes of my forefathers;

“ I re-

“ I request, when my enemies shall be
“ gluttred with my innocent blood, that my
“ body may be transported by my servants,
“ and interred in consecrated ground; above
“ all, in France, where the bones of my
“ much honoured mother do now rest; so
“ as this poor body, which has never known
“ repose so long as joined to my soul, may
“ at last find rest, when separated from it.

“ Secondly, I beseech your Majesty,
“ from the apprehension which I have of
“ the tyrannie of those, to whose power
“ you have given me up, that my execu-
“ tion may not proceed in any private or ob-
“ scure place, but in the sight and presence
“ of my servants, and of other persons who
“ may bear witness of my faith and ad-
“ herence to the Catholic church, and be
“ able to vindicate the last scene of my
“ life, and my dying breath, from the false
“ reports which my enemies may spread
“ abroad concerning me.

“ Thirdly,

“ Thirdly, I request that my domestics,
 “ who have served me faithfully in all
 “ my distresses, may be allowed to with-
 “ draw themselves, freely, to whatever place
 “ they chuse, and that they may enjoy
 “ the small presents which my poverty has
 “ left me to bequeath to them by my last
 “ will.

“ I conjure you, Madame, by the blood
 “ of Jesus Christ, by the ties of consan-
 “ guinitie, by the memory of King Henry
 “ VII. our common grandsire, and by
 “ the title of Queen which I bear, and
 “ shall do till death, do not refuse the
 “ above reasonable requests; and to con-
 “ firm your assent by a word under
 “ your hand. For which I shall die, as
 “ I have lived,

“ Your affectionate sister

“ and prisoner,

“ MARIE, Reyne*.”

* Jebb, vol. ii. page 91. — See the Original, Append. No. VIII.

To this magnanimous letter, the obdurate heart of Elizabeth made no reply. No wonder. Reflection on the recent indignities put on Mary, must have sunk her in her own estimation.

The following letter of Queen Mary, written by her, to her Almoner and Confessor, the evening before her execution, exhibits a fine picture of the Queen in the last awful moments of her life, and shews how collected she was, and with what pious resignation she submitted to her unparalleled fate.

The last act of devotion of a sincere Catholic, is to make solemn confession of sins, to receive absolution, and the holy sacrament, from a Minister of that religion. This was denied to Queen Mary!

“ I requested,” says she, “ to have you
“ with me, to make my confession to you,
“ and

“ and to receive the sacrament from your
 “ hands. This has cruelly been refused
 “ to me. They have even rejected my
 “ request to have my body transported,
 “ or to make my testament, or to write
 “ any thing, but by their hands, and under
 “ the good pleasure of their Mistress. In
 “ defect of this, I now confess my grievous
 “ sins in general, as I intended to have
 “ done to you in particular; *beseeking*
 “ *you, in the name of God, to pray and*
 “ *wake with me this night*, for the satisf-
 “ faction of my sins, and to send me your
 “ absolution, and pardon of all my of-
 “ fences towards yourself. I will endeavour
 “ to see you in their presence, as they
 “ have granted to my Chamberlain, and
 “ if that shall be permitted, I will ask
 “ your blessing on my knees.

“ Point out to me the most proper
 “ prayers *for this night and to-morrow*
 “ *morning*. The time is short. I have no
 “ leisure

“leisure to write, but I shall recommend
“you, with the rest of my servants, to
“the King for all your good offices.
“Advise me, in writing, of every thing
“you shall think necessary for salvation.
“I shall send you a small token.”

Nota, At the foot of the letter is the following note :

“The Queen wrote her testament with
“her own hand, in two leaves of paper,
“without resting or lifting her hand from
“the paper. In which she settles all her
“affairs, without omitting to bequeath some
“token to each of her servants*.”

Thus met her fate, Mary Queen of Scots, the most injured and the most unfortunate of her sex.

What can atone for the crimes committed by Elizabeth with regard to the un-

* See the original Letter, N^o VII. Appendix.

fortunate

fortunate Queen Mary? Will the applause which popularity has thrown upon this great Queen (for such, according to the ordinary sense of the word, it must be allowed she was) palliate such bold and flagrant acts of injustice and inhumanity, carried on by the grossest artifice and dissimulation? Unerring justice will not allow such impositions long to pass. The hand of time has now pulled off the mask from this imperious and arbitrary Queen; and while the just, the impartial, and the unprejudiced, must detest the base and ungenerous principles which guided Elizabeth, the humane will drop a tear to the memory of an unfortunate princess, the most amiable and accomplished of her sex, who, by the unrelenting cruelty of a jealous rival, through a series of bitter persecutions, was at last brought to the grave!

We have seen Queen Mary in the last awful scene of her life, firm, intrepid, and collected,

collected, without departing from her dignity, without betraying the least symptom of weakness or fear! Conscious of the rectitude of her heart, and that all was peace within, she meets death with composure, and in the firm hope of soon appearing before a higher tribunal, in the presence of the Most High, as her Judge, she, without a sigh, resigns her breath!

Let us attend the concluding scene of Queen Elizabeth's life.

According to the Historians, she suddenly was seized with a deep melancholy; she rejected all consolation; she even refused food and sustenance, and, throwing herself on the floor, she remained fullen and immoveable. The few words she uttered, were expressive of *some inward grief which she would not reveal*, but vented in deep sighs and groans. Ten days she lay upon the floor, supported with cushions, and thus expired*.

* Hume.

Some late writers have assigned as the cause of Elizabeth's melancholy and death, an old romantic story, of her love for the unfortunate Earl of Essex, and the discovery of the Countess of Nottingham's treachery in keeping up a ring, which Essex, before his execution, had charged her with delivering to the Queen, as the pledge of pardon, which she formerly had given to him. But this pretended cause is no ways adequate to the effect. It is certain that Elizabeth bore the death of Essex without the least apparent disturbance. Bayle, on the authority of the Marechal de Biron, who was ambassador in England at the time, says, that after the execution of Essex, the Queen was as merry as before, during Biron's embassy*. We cannot help subscribing to the opinion of Mr. Whitaker in this matter, " That Elizabeth had a more
 " solid ground for melancholy and re-
 " morse, arising from the sting of her own

* Article, Elizabeth.

“ conscience, on the reflection of her in-
“ human treatment of Queen Mary.” To
imagine that the masculine spirit of Eli-
zabeth would evaporate in a love-sick
fit of whining for the death of an in-
solent subject, who had braved her au-
thority, and attempted an insurrection
in her very capital, is neither credible,
nor in the least consistent with the cha-
racter and fortitude of the haughty, un-
feeling Elizabeth! Her whole conduct
with regard to the Queen of Scots, was
such as, indeed, to afford just cause for
the most bitter remorse, in the last stage
of her life, on the dreadful reflection of
the long, deliberate, premeditated schemes,
framed and prosecuted by her for the de-
struction of that Princess! With what
horror must she have looked back, on the
base means used by her, first, in seducing
from their allegiance, the subjects of her
sister Queen, and inciting them to over-
turn her government, and to dethrone

her; her underhand practices with both parties, fomenting their civil insurrections, inciting them to cut each other's throats, and to spread slaughter and devastation over a whole kingdom, for the abandoned purpose of securing its dependency on herself: and, lastly, to crown all, by shedding the blood of a Queen, her nearest relation, whom, by a solemn promise of assistance, she had allured to throw herself under her protection!—Here was cause indeed for melancholy, for remorse, almost to despair!

Now in the decline of life, in her 70th year, her popularity beginning to fade, and the approach of bodily infirmities, all must have awakened her to reflection, and to the bitter sensation of her crimes, and of her inhuman treatment of the Queen of Scots. How forcibly must the awful dying words of that Princess have vibrated in her ear!

“ Think me not presumptuous, that now
 “ bidding

“ bidding farewell to this world, and pre-
“ paring for a better, I put you in mind,
“ that you must also die, and must answer
“ before the tribunal of the Most High for
“ your conduct *.”

Happy for Elizabeth, if unfeigned con-
trition and penitence in her last moments,
has expiated her crimes †!

* —Ne m'accusez de presumption, si abandonnant
ce monde, et me preparant pour un meilleur, je vous
remonstre q'un jour vous aurez a repondre de votre
charge, aussi bien que ceux qui y sont envoyez les
premiers.

Votre sœur et cousine,

De Fotheringay,
19 Decembre.

Prisonier a tort,
MARIE, R †.

† The morals of Queen Elizabeth may be gathered
from her conduct with regard to the unfortunate Queen
of Scots. For the other parts of her character, I leave
that task to her own countrymen.

“ I see no sufficient grounds for the excessive pre-
“ judice that has somehow taken place in favour of
“ the golden reign, as it is called, of Elizabeth. I
“ can find neither the wisdom nor the virtue in it,

† Jebb, vol. ii. p. 295.

“ that can entitle it to a preference before all other
 “ ages. It is allowed, that in her councils she was
 “ vigilant, careful in the choice of her servants,
 “ courteous and condescending to her subjects. She
 “ appeared to have an extreme tenderness for the
 “ interests, and an extreme zeal for the honour, of
 “ the nation. This was the bright side of her cha-
 “ racter.—On the other hand, she was choleric and
 “ imperious, jealous, timid, and avaricious; oppressive,
 “ as far as she durst; in many cases capricious and
 “ tyrannical.—The mingled splendor of these qua-
 “ lities, good and bad (for even her worst had the
 “ luck, when seen but on one side, or in well-disposed
 “ lights, to look like good ones), so far dazzled the
 “ eyes of all, that they did not, or would not, see
 “ many outrageous acts of tyranny and oppression.
 “ And thus it has come to pass, that, with some abi-
 “ lity, more cunning, and little real virtue, the name
 “ of *Elizabeth* is, by the concurrence of many acci-
 “ dental causes, become the most revered of any in
 “ the roll of our ancient princes.—I will not deny
 “ her to have been a great, that is, a fortunate
 “ Queen; in this perhaps the most fortunate, that she
 “ attained to so unrivalled a glory with so few pre-
 “ tensions to deserve it.” *Dr. Hurd on the golden
 age of Queen Elizabeth.*

P O S T S C R I P T,

Addressed to the PUBLIC.

MR. Hume, in the last edition of his History of England, has made the following attack upon the Inquirer*.

“ I believe” (says the Historian) “ there
“ is no reader of common sense, who does
“ not see, from the narrative in the text,
“ that the author means to say, that Queen
“ Mary refuses constantly to answer before

* Hume's History, quarto edition, 1770, vol. v.
p. 152. Note, p. 533.

“ the English commissioners, but offers
“ only to answer in person, before Q. Elizabeth in person, contrary to her practice during the whole course of the conference, till the moment the evidence of her being an accomplice in her husband’s murder is unexpectedly produced. It is true, the author having repeated four or five times an account of this demand of being admitted to Elizabeth’s presence, and having expressed his opinion, that, as it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences, she did not expect it would now be complied with; thought it impossible his meaning could be misunderstood (as indeed it was impossible), and not being willing to tire his reader with continual repetitions, he mentions in a passage or two, simply, that she had refused to make any answer. I believe also, there is no reader of common sense who per-
“ uses

“ uses Anderson or Goodall’s collections,
“ and does not see, that, agreeably to this
“ narrative, Q. Mary insists unalterably
“ and strenuously on not continuing to
“ answer before the English commission-
“ ers, but insists to be heard in person, by
“ Q. Elizabeth in person; though once or
“ twice, by way of bravade, she says
“ simply, that she will answer and refute
“ her enemies, without inserting this con-
“ dition, which still is understood. But
“ there is a person that has wrote an *En-*
“ *quiry historical and critical into the evidence*
“ *against Mary Queen of Scots*, and has at-
“ tempted to refute the foregoing narra-
“ tive. *He quotes a single passage* of the
“ narrative, in which Mary is said simply
“ to refuse answering; and then a *single*
“ *passage from Goodall*, in which she boasts
“ simply that she will answer; and he very
“ civilly and almost directly calls the au-
“ thor a lyar, on account of this pre-
“ tended contradiction. That whole En-

“ quiry, from beginning to end, is com-
 “ posed of such scandalous artifices; and from
 “ this instance, the reader may judge of the
 “ candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good
 “ manners of the Enquirer.”

This is a very heavy impeachment against the Inquirer, and delivered in terms very inconsistent with Mr. Hume's complaint upon the head of incivility and good manners, or with that treatment which one gentleman ought to expect from another. If the Inquirer has, in these respects, been deficient to Mr. Hume (of which he is not at all sensible), that gentleman has now very amply retorted upon him. Who could have suspected the cool Philosopher to be so conversant in terms of the grossest and most illiberal abuse?

This small Essay took its rise from notes which the author, in the course of his reading, had made, with no other view
 than

than for his own amusement, and to enable him to form a judgment of a point which he had considered as a historical problem. When he was induced to put these strictures into their present form, and to allow them to be made public, he was sensible of the difficult task he had undertaken. To canvass a disputed point, which perhaps, even at this day, with some narrow minds, involved a notion of party-spirit, was not his greatest embarrassment. He found himself obliged to examine, with freedom, the opinion of authors of weighty authority; of living authors. He imagined he saw sufficient reasons to differ widely in sentiment from these authors; to believe, that even a writer, generally unquestioned in candour, might, in the ardour of supporting a favourite and popular side of a question, have shut his eyes against the light. Here was the Inquirer's difficulty. The love of truth de-

6 manded,

manded, that nothing should be palliated in an investigation of this kind; at the same time, he knew well, that, from the weakness of human nature, there was scarce a disputant who could separate the idea of an antagonist from that of a foe, or who could coolly suffer even the apprehension of losing any part of that universal deference which he was persuaded he merited. This consideration was an incitement to the Inquirer, to consider well the grounds of the controversy, to review his own arguments, and to be cautious even in the manner of dressing and advancing them. This caution he flattered himself he had never departed from; and indeed, the indulgent approbation of the Public had almost set his mind at ease upon that score. — He now, however, at this late period, finds he has been mistaken; and that his early fears were but too well grounded.

The

The author of the History of England, so often mentioned in this Inquiry, has now for many years, with regard to this Essay, preserved a profound silence. But it would seem, that all this while he has been meditating vengeance: he has now stepped out into the world, and aimed a deadly thrust at the Inquiry and its author.

The whole book, says the Historian, from beginning to end, is composed of scandalous artifices, foul dealing, want of candour, veracity, and good manners,

After a sentence of this kind, what remains for the Inquirer? This supreme judge of literary merit has pronounced sentence with that confidence which mocks all appeal.

The Inquirer, however, believes his cause to be subjected to another, and rather

ther a higher tribunal, than this author's court of judicature. Let not that gentleman, intoxicated as he seems to be with popular applause, assume the character and style of infallible director of opinion, nor presume to wrest from that public, to whose indulgent favour he owes the credit he has obtained, the right which they have of judging for themselves. Had the Historian's judgment of the Inquiry been equitable, he would have found his opinion long ere now justified by the concurring sentiments of the Public on his side: but that these sentiments have not concurred with him he seems tacitly to acknowledge, when now, at the distance of a dozen of years since the offence, he deigns (contrary to his conduct with his other opponents) to take the offender out of the hands of the Public, and to pronounce sentence himself.

To the impartiality of that Public the Inquirer now enters his appeal; and to
their

their judgment he shall submit the examination of this late manifesto of the Historian, leaving them to apply the above heavy epithets of *scandalous artifice, want of candour, veracity, and good manners*, to whom they shall be found properly to belong.

And now as to Mr. Hume's manifesto :

There is no reader of common sense, says he, who does not see from his narrative in the text, that the Historian means to say, that Queen Mary constantly refuses to answer before the English commissioners, but offers to answer only in person before Queen Elizabeth in person. — That the Historian, continues he, having often repeated Queen Mary's demand of being admitted to Queen Elizabeth's presence, — and being unwilling to tire his reader with continual repetitions of this demand, mentions in a *passage or two simply,*

simply, that she refused to make any answer.

Upon this, says our Historian, the author of the Inquiry has attempted to refute his narrative, by *quoting* the above *single passage* from his history, in which Queen Mary is said simply to refuse answering;—and in opposition to that, quoting a *single passage* from Goodall, in which she boasts simply, that she will answer; and on account of this contradiction, the author of the Inquiry almost directly calls him a liar.—This is the charge against the Inquirer.

One would have thought that when the Historian ventured thus to pledge his credit with the public, by taking upon him to condemn a book, as composed of *scandalous artifices*, and destitute of *candour* and *truth*, from one single instance, in which he asserts, upon his own word, that
the

the author had not quoted him fairly ;—— one would have thought, that the Historian should undoubtedly have been sure of the fact. Is the fact then so as he is pleased to aver ?—Has the Inquirer taken hold of this single passage from Mr. Hume's history, wherein he says Queen Mary refused simply to answer, without repeating her request of being admitted to Queen Elizabeth's presence ?——The Inquirer does aver, that it is not so.

He has not quoted a single or detached passage from him ; on the contrary, he has quoted almost the whole of the Historian's narrative concerning Queen Mary's refusal to answer, and likewise her request to be present at the trial of her cause, and that, too, in the Historian's own words. In his quotation, he particularly mentions the grounds upon which that author says Queen Mary's commissioners founded their refusal to answer. The reader is referred

ferred to the whole quotation; part of which shall here be repeated.—“ When
 “ the charge,” says Mr. Hume, “ or ac-
 “ cufation againſt Queen Mary was given
 “ in,—her commiſſioners abſolutely re-
 “ fuſed to return any answer; and they
 “ grounded their ſilence on very extraor-
 “ dinary reaſons. They had orders, they
 “ ſaid, from their miſtreſs, if any thing
 “ was advanced that might touch her ho-
 “ nour, not to make any defence, as ſhe
 “ was a ſovereign princeſs, and could not
 “ be ſubject to any tribunal; *and they re-*
 “ *quired that ſhe ſhould previously be ad-*
 “ *mitted to Elizabeth’s preſence* *.”—Thus runs the quotation through every edition of the Inquiry.

The Inquirer ſhall now proceed to ſhow in what manner Mr. Hume’s narrative, as above, was oppoſed.

* Vol. i. p. 165. of this Inquiry.

In the first edition of the Inquiry, to the Historian's narrative was opposed verbatim the declaration of Queen Mary's commissioners on the 25th of December 1568; wherein they declare, by her special command, That she would answer to Murray's accusation; and, for that purpose, they desire to have the writings that he had produced against her: and neither the Queen in her letter, nor the commissioners, mention any request from her of being admitted to Queen Elizabeth's presence. This, the Historian is pleased to say, was only a bravade of Mary.—It may be so: but this is only his conjecture; it might as probably have been otherwise; that could only have been determined by Queen Mary herself, as it lay in her own breast. But it is to be observed, on the other hand, that the letter, containing the above declaration, was the very last which Queen Mary wrote during the conferences. This, the author of the In-

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quiry apprehends, was a fair authority, and, for the above reason, might very properly be quoted against Mr. Hume. However, to give full scope to the Historian's argument, the Inquirer, in his second and in this Edition, has omitted the above declaration: and he opposes the Historian's narration, by referring the reader to the abstract of the whole procedure in the conferences *, which he had recently, and in the immediately preceding pages, given. What must show to the conviction of every reader the candid intention of the Inquirer, and that he had not the most remote design of concealing any part of the Historian's argument (as indeed he had no reason), he, immediately after the above general reference, fully and fairly states the whole of his argument, and every branch of it †; a part of which he shall here repeat.—“Mr. Hume's evasion

* Inquiry, vol. i. p. 170.

† Inquiry, vol. i. p. 172, 173.

“ is, 1st, That Mary had insisted to con-
“ front, personally, Murray and Morton,
“ her accusers, in presence of Elizabeth,
“ the whole English Nobility, and foreign
“ ministers; which,” Mr. Hume is pleased
to say, “ was such a request as could not
“ be granted: 2^{dly}, That this request be-
“ ing refused, Mary’s Commissioners had
“ protested against all further procedure,”
&c.

The Author of the Inquiry hopes he hath sufficiently vindicated himself from Mr. Hume’s accusation, by disproving his averment: on that averment, and the gross abuse attending it, the Inquirer shall make no reflections, but leave it to the Public to determine who is best entitled to bring the accusation of want of fair dealing and good manners.

The Author of the Inquiry shall now, in his turn, enter a little more minutely into the examination of the Historian’s pro-

position; from which he has inferred, that Queen Mary *absolutely refused* to answer Murray's accusation, and recoiled from the inquiry.

Queen Mary's Commissioners, our Historian says, absolutely refused to return an answer to Murray's charge or accusation; and they required, that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence; to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence;—and that they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply.

Here I beg leave to stop him, to tell him civilly, that he is in a mistake. Queen Mary, it is granted, at first, sensible of Elizabeth's gross partiality, did refuse to answer the charge or accusation. But she thought better on it; and afterwards, not only offered to answer the charge conditionally as above, but actually did give in her answer;

to which I beg leave to refer the reader, Inquiry, vol. i. p. 139.

The Historian perhaps will say, that Queen Mary refused to answer to the *proof* of the charge, that is, *the Letters*.—How could she, unless she was allowed to see them? She often requested to *see these writings*, for the express purpose of answering them.

But, it is said, she annexed to her offer to answer, a demand which, she was sensible, could not be granted.—For what reason could not her demand be granted? Was it impossible?—It shall be allowed, that an offer to perform a thing under a condition which is impossible, resolves into an absolute refusal. But is this the case of Queen Mary's conditional demand, of being admitted to Queen Elizabeth's presence, as her accusers had been? Was this impossible? was it even unreasonable? On

the contrary, I apprehend it was absolutely necessary. What was the meaning of Queen Mary's demand? She was accused of very high crimes, which were offered to be proved by Letters said to be of her own hand-writing. Her demand was, to appear personally, in defence and vindication of what was more valuable to her than life, her honour and reputation, not to mention her kingdom. Was it ever heard of in the annals of any civilized nation, that a person could be tried for life or property in absence?—When Queen Mary demanded that she might be present, what was she to do? Why, to hear, and see with her own eyes, what evidence her accusers were to produce against her; to have inspection of these Letters, which she exclaimed to the whole world were forged by these very accusers.—Letters, it is true, may be compared, and the similarity of hand-writings guessed at, by third parties; but will it be maintained, that any person could supply
the

the place of Mary herself for detecting forged Letters said to be written by herself?

But, says our Historian, Queen Mary had before this time made the same request to come before Elizabeth, and was refused*; and thence it is inferred, that she had no reason to think, that Elizabeth would alter her resolution.—Why not? When Mary, upon Queen Elizabeth's proposal, consented to have her cause treated in the way of conference, as she herself was not allowed to see Elizabeth, she insisted with that Princess, and got her “ promise, that during
“ this conference the Erle of Murray, prin-
“ cipal of the rebels, should not come into
“ the presence of Queen Elizabeth, no more
“ than Queen Mary; and yet,” (complains Mary) “ on the contrair, he is received
“ and welcomed by her, and we, ane free

* Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 496.

“ Princess, have not access to answer
 “ for ourselves, as he and his accom-
 “ plices *.”

But again: It was said by Queen Elizabeth, that it was inconsistent with her honour to admit Mary to her presence till she could clear herself of the crimes imputed to her †.—This was surely very squeamish in this virgin Queen: but where was her delicacy, nay, let me ask, what became of her honour, and her honesty, when she broke through a solemn promise, and admitted into her presence, both publicly and in private, the declared rebels, and usurpers of the crown of her sister Queen? when she cherished persons accused of the murder of their King? and of which crime two of them, Morton and Lethington, were afterwards tried and convicted by their Peers. Such were the persons

* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184.

† Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 501.

whom

whom this high and mighty Queen, of such punctilious honour, such nice and delicate feelings, exerted her utmost endeavours, by threats and promises, even when the matter in dispute was submitted to her as a judge, to incite and instigate, from being at first defendants, on Queen Mary's complaint against them, as rebels and usurpers, to turn accusers against her. Fie upon it! fie upon it!

I shall now conclude, by bringing the argument to a very narrow point.

Let me suppose, that Queen Mary's request, to be admitted to Queen Elizabeth's presence, had appeared unreasonable or improper, and therefore was refused. Was that a good reason for refusing her request to see the Letters? If, after inspecting the evidence against her, Queen Mary had remained silent, and made no answer, the consequence is plain, the Letters must have been

been held as genuine, and she stood convicted to Queen Elizabeth, and the whole world, by her own Letters. On the other hand, I apprehend, unless a good reason can be shown for refusing Mary's request to see the Letters, that refusal is equally decisive of the question in her favour. I call upon Mr. Hume, therefore, and desire him, with all his ingenuity, to give me a solid reason for Elizabeth's refusing to allow Queen Mary to see these Letters. I will venture to say, that only one reason, consistent with common sense, can be given, which is this: That Queen Elizabeth, and the penetrating Cecil, saw or suspected a forgery; and by the many shifts which, through the whole course of the conferences, were devised to elude a scrutiny, and inspection of these Letters, it is apparent they were resolved to guard against a detection: and to close the scene, and to prevent Queen Mary from ever getting a sight of this forged evidence, they took a very effectual way,
by

by dismissing Murray, and them together, from the conferences. To this let me join the proof which has lately been brought by Goodall against the Letters, which, I am warranted to say, in the opinion of many of the first critics of the age, does clearly demonstrate the forgery.

In short, I make no scruple to affirm, that our Historian's proposition, upon which he condemns Queen Mary, as recoiling from the inquiry, is false, that it has not a foot to stand on, and therefore must fall to the ground. I shall not, in Mr. Hume's language, very unbecoming a gentleman, call it *foul dealing*, and a *scandalous artifice*; but I will venture to say, that, by as glaring a sophism as ever was used, he has converted a positive offer, under a condition reasonable, equitable, and necessary, into an absolute refusal.

As to the veracity and candour of the Historian, the Inquirer, without going be-

7 yond

yond the subject in hand for examples, shall mention a few facts, and leave the Reader to make his own reflections.

In the first place, The Inquirer does say, That the detail which our Author has given of the conferences is contradicted by the records, almost in every line.—The Inquirer shall not speak without book.

Queen Mary, says our Historian, absolutely refused to make answer to Murray's accusation.—See the answers given in by her to the English commissioners, vol. i. p. 138. of this Inquiry.

Queen Mary's commissioners, says he, finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply *.——See a confutation of this, and the procedure of the parties after the protest of Mary's commissioners of the 3d of Decembar, vol. i.

* Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 498. first edition.

p. 121, 122 of this Inquiry; and continuation of the conferences, from the 25th of December, when Queen Mary's commissioners resumed them, pages 134, 135, 136, to the 13th of January, which were frequent and full, until Murray and his accomplices withdrew themselves.

And, lastly, According to the Historian, Mary's accusation of Murray and his party was made by her after all the conferences were broke off, and was only an angry retaliation, extorted from her by Murray's complaint*.—Did not the Author's prejudice blind him, he might with greater reason and truth have said, that Murray's accusation was extorted from him after Mary had exposed his rebellious practices before the commissioners at York, and refuted every argument offered in his defence, even according to our Author's own opi-

* Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 501. first edition.

nion *. But as to the point of fact asserted by our Author, That Mary's accusation of Murray and his party was made by her after all the conferences were broke off: it is denied. Perhaps our Author will say, this is almost directly saying, it is a lie. I shall not say so: but if the records directly contradict his assertion, who is to blame? —Let us see how the fact as to this stands.

On Murray's accusation being given in on the 26th of November, and a copy given to Mary's commissioners, they, upon the 1st of December, assert, " That Murray and his partisans had invented this
 " accusation for maintenance of their own
 " treason; and that, when the cause should
 " be farther tried, it would be proved,
 " that some of the accusers were the inventors, and privy to the making bonds
 " for the conspiracy of the death of the

* Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 494. first edition.

" Lord

“ Lord Darnley ; — and they begged, that
“ the accusers might be arrested until the
“ end of the cause *.”

After this, we see Queen Mary herself, in almost every paper, and her commissioners, in her name, to the very end of the conferences in January, insisting in her accusation of Murray and his party ; and that, if time were allowed her, she would prove that accusation.

So much on the point of veracity. —
With regard to the candour of our Historian, the Inquirer submits the following instances :

Our Author, in arguing in support of the Letters as genuine, has this remark : — “ In writing the first Letter, which,” says he, “ was penned by the Queen, late
“ at night, her paper failed her, and she
“ takes down a memorandum of what she

* See Inquiry, vol. i. p. 114.

“ intended

“intended to add next morning; and it
 “is accordingly added.—This,” says he,
 “is a circumstance very particular, and
 “not likely to occur to any person who
 “would forge these Letters *.”

The Inquirer, in the first edition of his book, challenged this observation of our Author as contrary to fact; and he proved, that the passage in the Queen's Letter referred to, did not contain one word which had the least relation to the memorandums, unless in one particular.

The Historian, sensible that he had no ground for his assertion, was pleased, in his second and after editions, to drop the whole of this argument, by leaving it out altogether. Was that sufficient? Ought he not to have acknowledged his error, to call it no worse?

* Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 498. first edit. 4to.

In support of Hubert's confession, the Historian, in his first edition, asserted, *1st*, That it was certainly a regular judicial confession, i. e. taken in the presence of a judge;—*2dly*, That it was produced by Mary's accusers judicially against her: from which he concluded, that Queen Mary, if she was innocent, ought, at the time that it was judicially produced, to have canvassed this confession *.

The Inquirer, in the first edition of his book, detected the above assertions of our Author, and brought a full proof of their falsity,—and that the Queen never saw this confession.—What was the consequence? Let the boasted candour of our Historian now speak out? No! his candour was asleep on this occasion. He chose silently to withdraw the whole of these assertions in his future editions. But let me ask, although the pride of an author

* Hist. of England, first edit. 4to, p. 500.

would not suffer him to acknowledge those errors to the person who had detected them, in consistency with honour, was not something due to the Public, and to the possessors of his first edition?

Upon this head, it might be asked of our Author, whether he himself seriously believes, that Hubert's confession is really genuine? But, as it is not expected that he will answer this question, we refer the reader to the detection of that forged evidence in Part I. Chap. 4. of the foregoing Inquiry.

Indeed the whole of our Author's plan, for condemning Queen Mary unheard, is most uncandid, to say no worse of it.—Because she, in the beginning, sensible of Elizabeth's partiality, broke off the conferences; yet, although she resumed them, our Author, taking her at her first word, rejects her remonstrances, and stifles the whole procedure after this on Mary's part, while he takes care to give a minute detail
2 of

of the evidence poured in against her on the other side; and from thence draws a conclusion, which, in my humble opinion, does very little credit, either to his moral sentiments of equity as a judge, or to his feelings as a man.—Were Queen Mary's objections, says he, to the evidence produced against her, ever so specious, they cannot *now* be hearkened to, “ since she
“ did in effect ratify the evidence, by re-
“ coiling from the inquiry, at the critical
“ moment, and refusing to give an answer
“ to the accusation of her enemies.”

Unfortunate Mary! Hard has been thy fate: condemned at first unheard, upon evidence which thou wert not allowed to see! and now a second time brought to trial, and condemned for not answering to that evidence!—Hard is thy fate on another account.—Had those talents, and that ingenuity, which have of late been displayed against thee, been as forcibly exerted *in thy favour*, how would thy cause

have shone forth, and, like lightning, blasted all opposition?—Let not, however, the injured Mary be dismayed, nor sink under the dread of her formidable opponents; weak as her present advocate may be, she has a much more powerful one, Truth! Truth may for a time be overpowered, but at length will prevail; and although, according to the old sage, she often lies buried at the bottom of a well, yet Time will find her out, and usher her into light.

The Inquirer, after all, shall not, according to the manner of our Historian, say, that his history, from beginning to end, is of a piece. He is far from thinking so: although the Inquirer, by taking another period of it in hand, might perhaps shew the same systematic perversity in our Author; yet it is sufficient to the present purpose to say, that of the unfortunate Queen Mary he has painted a most foul picture. He has thrown out almost

most every grace from his canvas, and overcharged and distorted every feature. In place of a portrait, he has given us a false, hideous, and unnatural caricatura.

To conclude: The Inquirer hopes he has sufficiently vindicated himself from the violent attack and illiberal abuse thrown out against him by the Historian.—He is pleased to say, That the Inquirer almost directly called him a liar. The Inquirer appeals to his book for the contrary. If many of the facts advanced by the Historian are contradicted by the authorities cited by the Inquirer, who is in the fault? Was he to compliment him at the expence of truth? He has kept strictly to his plan through the whole of his book, and he has not gone a foot out of his way to attack Mr. Hume: he has studied to avoid abuse; sensible, that wherever recourse is had to this weapon, it is a certain sign of a tottering cause. The Historian, if he chuses,* may apply

this to himself. He has, on many occasions, pleaded the cause of liberty against intolerant principles; of the freedom of attack even of first principles: but let us ask him, Had any of his opponents attacked him in the same abusive and illiberal way he now does the Inquirer, in what contempt would he have held him? what airs of superiority would he have given himself?—The Inquirer does not assume the high tone either of Historian or Philosopher: all he pretends to is that of a Reader, who may, and will, think for himself. He wrote neither for money nor for applause.—If the Historian shall point out to him any one circumstance in which he is wrong, either in fact or argument, he will, with great frankness, retract and acknowledge his error: but as he is a free subject,—*no man's heir or slave*,—our Author will find it not so easy a matter to convince him in any other way.

Edinburgh, September 16 JY 63
1771.

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

The first Letter said to be written by MARY Queen of Scots, to JAMES Earl of Bothwell.

BEING departit from the place quhair I left my hart, it is esie to be judgeit what was my countenance, seeing that I was evin als mekle as ane body without ane hart; quhilk was the occasioun that quhile dennertyme I held purpois to na body; nor zit durst ony present thamselvis unto me, judging yat it was not gude sa to do.

Four myle or I came to the town, ane gentleman of the Erle of Lennox came and maid his commendatiounis unto me; and excusit him that he came not to meit me, be ressoun he durst not interpryse

POSTEAQUAM ab eo loco discessi ubi reliqueram cor meum, facilis est conjectura qui meus fuerit vultus, cum plane perinde essem atque corpus sine corde: ea fuit causa cur toto prandii tempore, neque contulerim sermonem cum quoquam, neque quisquam se offerre mihi sit ausus, ut qui judicarent id non esse ex usu.

Ad quatuor passuum millia antequam ad oppidum accessissem, homo honesto loco natus a Comite Leviniae ad me venit, atque ejus nomine salutavit: excusavit Comitem, quod non ipse obviam processisset,

ESTANT partie du lieu ou j'avoye laissé mon cœur, il se peut aisément juger quelle estoit ma contenance, veu ce que peut un corps sans cœur; qui a esté cause que jusques à la disnée je n'ay pas tenu grand propos; aussi personne ne s'est voulu avancer, jugeant bien qu'il n'y faisoit bon.

Estant encor à quatre mille pas de la ville, vint à moy un gentilhomme envoyé par le Conte de Lenos, qui me salva en son nom; & l'excusa de ce qu'il ne m'estoit venu au devant, disant, qu'il ne l'avoit osé entreprendre, à cause que j'avoye

pryse the same, becaus of the rude wordis that I had spokin to Cuninghame: and he desyrit that he suld come to the inquisition of ye matter yat I suspectit him of. This last speiking was of his awinheid, without ony commiffioun.

I answerit to him, that *thair was na receipt culd serve aganis feir*; and that he wald not be affrayit, in cace he were not culpabill; and that I answerit bot rudely to the doutis yat wer in his letteris. Summa, I maid him hald his toung. The rest wer lang to wryte. Schir James Hamiltoun met me; quha schawit, that the other tyme when he hard of my cumming, he departit away, and send Howstoun to schaw him, that he wald never have belevit that he wald have persewit him, nor zit accompanyit him with the Hamiltounis. He answerit, that he was only cum
bot

fisset, id enim quo minus auderet in causa fuisse, quod verbis asperioribus Cunigamium compellâssem Petivit etiam ut inquirerem de suspicionem mea adversus Comitem. Postrema hæc sermonis pars ab ipso, injussu Comitis, erat adjecta.

Ego respondi, *nullam adversus timorem esse medicinam*; neque si extra culpam esset, tam meticulosum futurum; neque me, nisi ad dubitationes, quæ in ejus literis erant, asperius respondisse. In summa, imposui homini silentium. Longum esset cetera perscribere. D. Jacobus Hamiltonius mihi obviam venit; is ostendit superiore tempore, cum de meo adventu audisset, eum discessisse, ac Hustonum ad se misisse, qui dicerit, se nunquam fuisse crediturum, quod aut ipsum persequeretur, aut Hamiltoniis se conjungeret; se vero respondisse, sui itineris causam unam fuisse, ut
me

tenfé Cuningham avec paroles aigres. Il me demanda aussi que je m'enquisse de soupçon que j'avoye contre iceluy Conte. Ceste derniere partie de son dire avoit esté adjoustée par luy, sans que le Conte luy eust commandé.

Je respondy, *qu'il n'y avoit point de remede contre la crainte*; & que s'il estoit hors de faute, il ne seroit pas tant timide; & que je n'avoye point respondu asprement sinon aux doutes qui estoient en ses lettres. En somme, j'imposay silence au personnage. Il seroit long descrire tout le reste. Le Seigneur Jaques Hambleton vint au devant de moy, lequel me declara, qu'auparavant ayant entendu ma venüe, il s'estoit retiré & luy avoit envoyé Huston, pour luy dire, qu'il n'eust jamais creu, ou qu'il l'eust voulu poursuivre, ou qu'il se fut joint avec les Hambletons; & qu'il respondit, qu'il n'y avoit eu

bot to see me, and yat he wald nouthir accompany Stewart nor Hammiltoun, bot be my commandment. *He desyrit that he wald cum and speik with him : he refusit it.*

The laird of Lusse, Howstoun, and Caldwellis sone, with XL hors or thairabout, came and met me. The laird of Lusse said, he was chargeit to ane day of law be the King's father, quhilk suld be this day, againis his awin hand writ, quhilk he hes; and zit notwithstanding, knowing of my cumming, it is delayit. He was inquiryt to cum to him, quhilk he refusit, and sweiris that he will *indure* nathing of him.

Never ane of that towne came to speik to me, quhilk causis me think that thay ar his; and neuertheles he speikis gude, at the leist his sone. I se nā uther gentilman bot thay of my company.

The

me videret neque cum Stuartis aut Hamiltoniis, injussu meo, se conjuncturum.

Lussius, Hustonus, Caldöellii filius, comitati quadraginta circiter equis, obviam venerunt. Lussius dixit, se à Regis patre in eum ipsum diem ut causam diceret accersitum, contra quam chirographo promississet id chirographum penes se esse; tamen cum de meo adventu rescitum esset, diem prolatum. Se accersitum a Comite, ire nolle, ac jurat se nihil unquam ab eo velle.

Nemo oppidanorum me convenit, quæ res facit ut eos credam ab illo stare; præterea bene loquuntur, saltem de filio. Nullos præterea nobiles video præter meos comites.

Rex

eu qu' une cause de son voyage, à sçavoir, pour me voir, & qu'il ne se conjoindroit avec les Stuarts & Hambletons sans mon commandement.

Lusse, Huston, et le fils de Cauldwellis, accompagnez d'environ quatre vingts chevaux, vindrent au devant de moy. Lusse dict, que ce jour là mesme il estoit adjourné par le pere du Roy, contre ce qu'il avoit promis par son seing, & que ce seing estoit par devers luy : mais que quand on fut adverty de ma venüe, que le jour avoit esté prolongé. Et qu'il ne vouloit aller par devers le Conte, qui l'avoit appelé en jurant, qu'il ne luy demanderoit jamais rien.

Nul des citoyens n'est venu à moy, qui faict que je croy qu'ils sont d'avec cestuy là ; & puis ils parlent en bien, au moins du fils. D'avantage je ne voy aucuns de la noblesse outre ceux de ma suite.

Le

The King send for Joachim zisternicht, and askit at him, quhy I lodgeit not besyde him? and that he wald ryse the soner gift that wer: and quhairfoir I come? gif it was for gude appointment? and gif ze wer thair in particular? and gif I had maid my estait? gif I had taken Paris * and Gilbert to wryte to me? and yat I wald send Joseph away? I am abaschit quha hes schawn him sa far; zea, he spak evin of ye marriage of Bastiane.

* This letter
will tell you
sumwhat
upon this.

I inquyrit him of his letteris, quhairintil he plenzeit of the crueltie of sum: answerit, that he was astonischit, and that he was sa glaid to se me, that he belevit to die for glaidness. He fand greit fault that I was pensive.

I departit to supper. This beirer will tell zow of my ar-ryuing. He prayit me to retorne: the quhilk I did. He declarit

Rex accersivit Joachimum heri, ac eum interrogavit, cur non prope se diverterem? id enim si fecissem, se citius surrecturum; item cur venissem? an reconciliationis causa? ac nominatim, an tu hic esses? an familiae catalogum fecissem? an Paridem & Gilbertum accepissem, qui mihi scriberent? an Josephum dimissura essem? Miror quis ei tantum indicarit; etiam usque ad nuptias Sebastianam sermo pervenit.

Ego eum de suis literis rogavi, in quibus questus erat de quorundam crudelitate; respondit, se nonnihil esse attonitum, meumque ei conspectum tam jucundum, ut putaret se lætitia moriturum. Offendebatur eo quod tam cogitabunda essem.

Ego disceffi ad cœnam. Qui has fert tibi de meo adventu narrabit. Rogavit me ut redirem, quod & feci. Sum

Le Roy appella hier Joachim, & l'interroga, pourquoy je n'alloye loger pres de luy? & que si je le faisoie, il seroit plustost remis sus; item pourquoy j'esloye venue? & si c'estoit pour faire une reconciliation? si vous estiez icy? & si j'avoie faict quelque rolle de mes domestiques? si j'avois prins Paris & Gilbert, afin qu'ils m'escrivissent? & si ge ne vouloye pas licentier Joseph? Or je m'estonne qui luy en a tant declaré; car mesme il a tenu propos de Sebastian.

Je l'ay enquis de ses lettres, ou il s'estoit plaint de la cruauté d'aucuns. Il respondit, qu'il estoit aucunement estonné, & qu'il se trouvoit si joyeux de me voir qu'il pensoit mourir de joye. Cependant il estoit offensé de ce que j'estois ainsi pensive.

Je m'en allay soupper. Celuy qui vous porte ces lettres vous fera entendre de ma venue. Il me pria de retourner, ce que je fay. Il me declara son mal, adjoustant, qu'il ne vouloit

declarit unto me his feiknes, and that he wald mak na testament, bot only leif all thing to me: and that I was the cause of his maladie, becaus of the regrait that he had that I was so strange unto him. And thus he said: Ze ask me what I mene be the crueltie contenit in my letter? it is of zow alone that will not accept my offeris and repentance. I confes that I haue failit, bot not into that quhilk I ever denyit; and sicklyke hes failit to findrie of zour subjectis, quhilk ze have forgeuin.

I am zoung.

Ze will say, that ze have forgevin me oft tymes, and zit yat I retorne to my faultis. May not ane man of my age, for lacke of counsel, fall twyse or thryse, or inlacke of his promeis, and at last repent himself, and be chastisit be experience?

um mihi morbum explicavit, seque nullum testamentum facturum nisi ad unum, quod omnia mihi relinqueret; me autem sui morbi causam fuisse, quod moleste tulisset me tam alieno erga se animo fuisse. Ac postea inquit, Me rogas quid sibi velit illa crudelitas, cujus mentio est in meis literis? ad te unam id spectat, quæ meas pollicitationes ac pœnitentiam recipere non vis. Fateor a me peccatum esse, sed non in eo quod semper negavi; peccavi etiam *adversus* quosdam civium tuorum, quod mihi abs te condonatum est.

Ego sum adolescens.

Ac tu dicis, quod post veniam sæpe abs te datam, adhuc ad peccata redeo. Nonne homo, qua ego sum ætate, consilio destitutus, bis aut ter labi potest, aut pollicitis non stare, ac deinde sui errati pœnitere, & rerum usu corrigi? Quod

loit point faire de testament, sinon cestuy seul, c'est qu'il me laisseroit tout; & que j'avoye esté la cause de sa maladie, pour l'ennuy qu'il avoit porté que j'eusse l'affection tant éloignée de luy. Et puis apres, Vous me demandez, dit-il, que veut dire ceste cruauté dont je fay mention en mes lettres? cela s'adresse seulement à vous, qui ne voulez recevoir mes promesses ny ma repentance. Je confesse que j'ay grandement offensé, mais non en ce que j'ay tousjours desnié; j'ay aussi peché à l'encontre d'aucuns de vos citoyens, ce que vous m'avez pardonné.

Je suis jeune.

Vous dites cependant, qu'apres m'avoir souvent pardonné, je retourne en semblables fautes. Un homme de mesme age que je suis, & destituté de conseil, ne peut il pas faillir deux ou trois fois, ou ne tenir pas quelque fois promesse, & apres se repentir de sa faute, en se corrigeant par l'usage des occurrences?

experience? Gif I may obtene pardoun, I protest I fall never make fault agane. And I craif na uther thing, bot yat we may be at bed and buird togidder as husband and wyfe; and gif ze will not consent heirunto, I fall never ryse out of yis bed. I pray zow, tell me zour resolution. God knawis how I am punischit for making my god of zow, and for hauing na uther thocht but on zow; and gif at ony tyme I offend zow, ze ar the caus, becaus, quhen ony offendis me, gif for my refuge, I nicht playne unto zow, I wald speik it unto na uther body; bot quhen I heir ony thing, not being familiar with zow, necessitie constrains me to keip it in my breift; and yet causes me to tynne my wit for verray anger.

I answerit ay unto him, bot that wald be ovir lang to wryte at length. I askit quhy he

Quod si veniam impetrare poterò, polliceor me nunquam posthac peccaturum. Nihil autem aliud peto, nisi ut communi mensa & lecto, tanquam conjuges, utamur: ad hæc nisi tu consentias, nunquam ex hoc lecto resurgam. Te rogo, ut mihi indices quid decreveris. Novit autem Deus quid pœnarum feram, quod deum mihi te fecerim, ac nihil aliquid nisi te cogitem: quod si quando te offendo, tu ipsa in causa es, nam cum aliquis me offendit, si id perfugium haberem, ut apud te queri possem, ad neminem alium querelam deferrem, sed si quid audio, nec te familiariter utor, cogor id in pectore clausum tenere; quæ res ita me angit, ut mentem & consilium mihi prorsus excutiat.

Ego semper ei respondebam, sed nimis longum esset omnia perscribere. Rogavi eum

rences? Que si je puis obtenir pardon, je promets cy apres de ne plus offenser. Je ne vous demande rien davantage, sinon que nous ne faisons qu'une table, et un liêt, comme ceux qui sont mariez: à cela si vous ne consentez, je ne releveray jamais de ce liêt. Je vous prie, de me faire entendre ce que vous avez delibeyre: car Dieu sçayt quelle peine je porte, de ce que j'ay fait de vous un dieu, & que je ne pense à autre chose qu'à vous: que si je vous offense quelquefois, vous en estes cause, veu que quand on m'offense, si j'avoye ce refuge, que je me peusse plaindre vers vous, je ne feroie ma complainte à autre; mais si j'entend quelque chose, & que je n'aye familiarité avec vous, je suis contraint de la retenir close en mon cœur; ce qui me tourmente tellement, qu'il m'oste du tout l'entendement & le conseil.

Je luy respondoye tousjours, mais il seroit long de tout escrire. Je luy ay demandé, pourquoy il deliberoit s'en aller en

he wald pass away in ye Inglis schip. He denyis it, and sweiris thairunto; bot he grantis that he spak with ye men. Efter this I inquyrit him of the inquisition of Hiegait. He denyit the same, quhil I schew him the verray wordis was spokin. At quhilk tyme he said, that Mynto had advertisit him, that it was said, that some of the counsell had brought an letter to me to be subscrivit to put him in presoun, and to slay him gif he made resistance. And he askit the same at Mynto himself: quha answerit, that he belevit the same to be trew. The morne I will speik to him upon this point. As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's, he confessit it, bot it was ye morne efter my cumming or he did it.

He wald verray fane that I suld ludge in his ludgeing. I refusit it, and said to him, that he behovit to be purgeit, and that culd not be done heir. He said to me, I heir
say

eum cur discessum adornare in ista nave Anglica. Ille id pernegat, adjecto etiam juramento; sed confessus est se cum Anglis colloquutum. Postea rogavi eum de quaestione Gulielmi Hiegait. Id quoque negavit, donec ipsa verba quæ prolata erant, ei detulisset. Tum dixit se certiozem a Minto factum dici quendam e concilio literas de se mittendo in carcerem, ac, nisi pateret, occidendo, ad me detulisse ut subscriberem; ac se idem ex ipso Minto quæsisse; eumque respondisse, sibi verum videri. De hoc capite eum cras conveniam. Quod ad reliqua de Guliero Hiegait, ea confessus est; nec id nisi postridie quam veneram.

Magnopere cupiebat ut ego in ejus hospitio apud eum diverterem. Ego recusavi, ac dixi ei opus esse purgatione, nec id hic fieri posse. Dixit se accepisse quod leſticam me-
cum

en ce navire Anglois. Ce qu'il nia, voire avec jurement; mais il a confessé avoir parlé avec les Anglois. Après je l'ay enquires touchant la dispute de Guillaume Hiegait. Ce qu'il a aussi desnié, jusques à ce que je luy ay rapporté les mesmes paroles qu'il avoit proferées. Alors il dit, qu'il estoit adverty par Minto, qu'on disoit, qu'un du conseil m'avoit apporté des lettres, afin de les signer, pour le faire mettre en prison, voire, s'il n'obeïssoit pour le tuer. Et qu'il enquist le semblable de Minto, qui respondit, que cela luy sembloit vray. De ce chef je luy en parleray demain. Quant au reste, touchant Guillaume Hiegait, il l'a confessé, mais non jusques au jour d'apres mon arrivée.

Il desiroit fort que j'allasse loger en son hostel; ce que j'ay refusé, luy disant, qu'il avoit besoin de purgation, & que cela
ne

say ze have brocht ane lytter with zow; bot I had rather have passit with zow. I trow he belevit that I wald have send him away preso-ner. I answerit, that I wald tak him with me to Craigmillar, quhair the mediciner and I micht help him, and not be far from my sone. He answerit, that he was reddy when I pleisit, sa I wald assure him of his request.

He desyres na body to sé him. He is angry quhen I speik of Walcar, and sayis, that he sall pluk the eiris out of his heid, and that he leis: For I inquyrit him upon that, and yat he was angrie with sum of the Lordis, and wald threitten thame. He denyis that, and sayis he luifis thame all, and prayis me to give traist to nathing againis him. As to me, he wald rather give his lyfe or he did ony displeasure to me.

And

cum attulissém; se vero maluisse mecum una proficisci. Credebat, opinor, quod in carcerem eum aliquo amandatura essem. Ego respondi, quod ductura mecum essem ad Craigmillarium, ubi et medici & ego possemus ei adesse, neque longe a meo filio abesse. Ille respondit, se, ubi vellem, paratum esse, modo de eo quod peteret securum se facerem.

Cupiebat ne a quoquam conspiceretur. Irascitur quoties ei mentionem Walcarii facio, ac se, dicit, aures ei e capite avulsurum, ac mentiri eum ait; nam de hac re eum interrogaram, ac de eo quod iratus esset quibusdam procerum, atque eis minaretur. Id negat, & ait omnes sibi charos esse, ac me rogat ne quid fecus de se crederem. Quod ad me attinet, se malle de vita discedere, quam quicquam committere quod me offenderet.

Ac

ne se pouvoit faire. Il adjousta, qu'il avoit entendu que j'avoie amené une litiere, & qu'il eust mieux aymé aller ensemble avec moy. J'estime qu'il pensoit que je le voulusse envoyer prisonnier quelque part. Je respondy, que je le meneroie avec moy à Craigmillar, afin que là les medecins & moy le peussions secourir, & que je ne m'esloignasse de mon fils. Il respondit, qu'il estoit prest d'aller où je voudroye, pourveu que je le rendisse certain de ce qu'il m'avoit requis.

Il desiroit de n'estre veu de personne. Il se fasche toutes les fois que je luy parle de Walcar, & dit, qu'il luy arrachera les oreilles de la teste, & qu'il a menty: car je l'avoie interrogé de cela, & de ce qu'il s'estoit courroucé contre aucuns des seigneurs, & les avoit menassez. Ce qu'il nie, & dit qu'il les ayme tous, & me prie que je ne croye point autrement de luy: & quant à ce qui me touche, qu'il aymeroit mieux mourir, que de faire chose qui me peust offenser.

Or

And efter yis he schew me of sa mony lytil flattereis, sa cauldly and sa wysely, that ze will abasche thairat. I had almaist forzet that he said he culd not dout of me in yis purpois of Hiegait's; for he wald never belief yat I, quha was his proper flesche, wald do him ony evil; alswell it was schawin that I refusit to subscribe the same: But as to ony *utberis* that wald persew him, *at leif* he suld sell his lyfe deir aneuch; bot he suspectit na body, nor zit wald not; but wald lufe all that I lufit.

He wald not let me depart from him, bot desyrit yat I suld walk with him. I mak it seme that I believe that all is trew, and takis heid thairto, and excusit my self for this nicht that I culd not walk. He sayis, that he sleipis not well. Ze saw him never better, nor speik mair humbler. And gif I had not
anc

Ac postea tantum minutarum adulationum tam moderate ac tam prudenter mihi effudit, ut tibi res admirandæ sit futura. Pene oblita eram quod dixit in hoc negotio Hiegait non posse de me quicquam suspicari; se enim nunquam crediturum, quod ego, quæ propria ejus caro essem, quicquam mali ei facerem. Etiam se recisse, quod ego ei rei subscribere recusassem: quod si quis suam vitam peteret, facturum ut satis magno ei constaret; sed sibi neminem nec suspectum esse, nec futurum; sed se omnes dilecturum quos ego diligerem.

Nolebat permittere ut a se discederem, sed cupiebat ut una secum vigilarem. Ego simulabam omnia videri vera, ac mihi curæ esse, atque excusavi quod illa nocte vigilare non possem. Ait se non bene dormire: nunquam vidit eum melius habere, aut loqui humiliter. Ac nisi experimento didicissem, quam esset ejus
cor

Or apres il m'a usé de tant de petites flateries, avec tel poids & discretion, que vous en seriez estonné. J'avoye, pens'en faut, oublié ce qu'il dit sur le fait de Hiegait; qu'il ne peut rien soupçonner de moy, & qu'il ne croira jamais que moy, qui suis sa propre chair, luy fasse aucun desplaisir; & qu'il sçavoit bien, que j'avoye refusé de souscrire à cela. Que si quelqu'un cherchoit à luy oster la vie, qu'il seroit enforte qu'elle luy seroit chèrement vendüe; mais que nul ne luy estoit, ou seroit suspect; ains qu'il aymeroit tous ceux que j'aymoye.

Il ne vouloit point permettre que m'en allasse, mais desiroit que je véillasse avec luy: & je faignoye que tout cela me sembloit vray, & que je m'en soucioye beaucoup, & en m'excusant, que je ne pouvoye veiller pour ceste nuit là; il dit, qu'il ne pouvoit bien dormir. Je ne l'ay jamais veu mieus porter, ne parler si doucement; & si je n'eusse appris par l'experience,

ane prufe of his hart of waxe, and yat mine wer not of ane dyamont, quhairintill na schot can mak brek, bot that quhilk cummis furth of zour hand, I wald have almaist had pietie of him. Bot feir not, the place fall hald unto the deith. Remember, in recompence thair of, that ze suffer not zouris to be wyn be that fals race that will travel na les with zow for the fame.

I beleve thay have bene at schuillis togidder. He hes ever the teir in his eye; he salutes every body, zea, unto the leist, and makis pieteous careffing unto thame, to mak thame have pietie on him. This day his father bled at the mouth and nose; ges quhat presage that is. I have not zit sene him, he keipis his chalmer. The King desyris that I suld give him meit with my awin handis; bot gif na mair traist quhair ze ar, than I fall do heir.

This

cor cereum, meum adamantinum, & quale nullum telum penetrare posset, nisi quod e tua manu veniat, prope erat, ut ejus miserta fuisssem: sed ne time, præsidium ad mortem usque custodietur. Tu vide ne tuum capi finas a gente illa perfida, quæ non minore contentione tecum de hoc ipso aget.

Arbitror in eadem schola doctos fuisse. Iste semper in oculis habet lacrymam; salutat omnes, etiam usque ad infimos, & miseris modis eos ambit, ut ad sui misericordiam eos perducatur. Hodie patri ejus sanguis e naribus & ore fluxit; tu conjice quale id sit præfagium. Nondum eum vidi, continet enim se in cubiculo. Rex poscit ut meis manibus sibi tradam cibum; sed tu nihilo magis istic sis crediturus, quam ego hic ero.

Hæc

perience, combien il avoit le cœur mol comme cire, & le mien estre dur comme diamant, & lequel nul trait ne pouvoit percer, sinon descoché de vostre main, peu s'en eust fallu que je n'eusse eu pitié de luy. Toutesfois ne craignez point, ceste fortteresse fera conservée jusques à la mort: mais vous regardez que ne laissiez surprendre la vostre, par ceste nation infidele, qui avec non moindre opiniastrété debatra le mesme avec vous.

J'estime qu'ils ont esté enseignez en mesme escole. Cestui-cy a tousjours la larme à l'œil; il salüe tout le monde, voire jusques au plus petits, & les flate d'une façon pitoyable, afin qu'il les ameine jusques à avoir compassion de luy. Aujourd'huy le sang est forty du nez & de la bouche à son pere; vous donc devinez maintenant quel est ce presage. Je ne l'ay point encor veu, car il se tient en sa chambre. Le Roy me requiert que je-luy donne à manger de mes mains; or vous n'en croyez pas par dela rien d'avantage, pendant que je suis icy.

Voyla

This is my *first journey*: I fall end ye same ye morne. I wryte all thingis, howbeit thay be of lytill wecht, to the end that ze may tak the best of all to judge upon. I am in doing of ane work heir that I hait greitly. Have ze not desyre to lauch to se me lie sa weill, at ye leist to dissembil sa weill, and to tell him treuth *betwix handis*? He schawit me almaiſt all yat is in the name of the Bischop and Sudderland; and zit I have never twichit ane word of that ze schawit me; bot allanerly be force, flattering, and to pray him to assure himself of me. And be pleinzeing on the bischop, I have drawin it all out of him. Ze have hard the rest.

We ar couplit with two fals races; the *devil* *sinder* us, and *God* *knit* us togidder for ever, for the maiſt faith-ful

Hæc est mea *primi diei expeditio*, eandem cras finiam. Omnia scribo, etsi non sunt magni ponderis, ut tu optima feligendo iudicium facias. Ego in negotio mihi maxime ingrato verſor. Nunquid subit cupiditas ridendi, videndo me tam bene mentiri, ſaltem diſſimulare tam bene, ac *interim* vera dicere? Omnia mihi aperuit ſub nominibus Epiſcopi & Sutherlandi; nec tamen adhuc collocuta ſum, aut verbo attigi, quicquam eorum quæ tu mihi declarasti; ſed tantum vi adulationum & precum ago, ut a me ſit ſecurus; & conquerendo de Epiſcopo, omnia de eo expiſcata ſum: cetera audiſti.

Nos ſumus conjuncti cum duobus infidis hominum generibus; diabolus nos ſejungat, ac nos conjungat Deus in perpetuum,

Voyla ce que j'ay *deſpeché pour mon premier jour*, eſperant achever demain le reſte. Je vous eſcry toutes choſes, encor qu'elles ſoient de peu d'importancc, afin qu'en eſliſant les meilleurs, vous en faſſies jugement. Je ſuis occupée en une affaire qui m'eſt infiniment deſagreable. Ne vous prent-il pas envie de rire de me voir anſi bien mentir, au moins de ſi bien diſſimuler en diſant verité? Il m'a tout deſcouvert ſoubs le nom de l'Eveſque & de Sutherland; et toutesſois je ne luy ay encor parlé, ny dit un ſeul mot, de ce que vous m'avez déclaré; ains ſeulement je le pourſuy par force de flateries & prieres, afin qu'il ſ'aſſeure de moy. Et me plaignant de l'Eveſqué j'ay ſçeu toutes choſes de luy, & entendu le reſte.

Nous ſommes conjoints avec deux eſpeces d'hommes infideles; le *diable* nous vueille *ſeparer*, & que *Dieu* nous *conjoingne* à jamais, à ce que ſoyons deux perſonnes tres-fideles, ſi jamais

ful coupil that ever he unitit.
This is my faith, I will die
in it.

Excuse I wryte evil, ze may
ges ye half of it: bot I can-
not mend it, becaus I am not
weil at eis; and zit verray
glaid to wryte unto zow
quhen the rest are sleipand,
sen I cannot sleip as thay do,
and as I wald desyre, that is,
in zour armes, my deir lufe,
quhome I pray God to pre-
serve from all evil, and send
zow repos. I am gangand
to seik myne till ye morne,
quhen I fall end my *bybill*:
bot I am faschit that it stop-
pis me to wryte newis of my-
self unto zow, becaus it is *sa-
lang*. Advvertise me quhat
ze have deliberat to dō in the
mater ze knaw upon this
point, to ye end that we may
understand utheris weil, that
nathing thairthrow be *spilt*.

I

perpetuum, ut simus fidissimum
par quod unquam junctum est.
Hæc mea fides est, in ea volo
mori.

Excusa quod male pingam,
dimidium te oportet divinare:
sed ego ei rei mederi non pos-
sum, non enim optime valeo;
& tamen magna fruor lætitia
scribendo ad te cum alii dor-
miunt; quando ego dormire
non possum, ut illi faciunt,
nec ut ego vellem, hoc est,
in tuo complexu, mi care a-
mice, a quo precor Deum ut
omnia mala avertat, & quie-
tem mittat. Ego eo ut meam
quietem inveniam in crasti-
num, ut tum mea *biblia* fini-
am; sed angor quod ea me
a scribendo de meipsa ad te
impediat, quia *tam diu* est.
Fac me certiorum quid, de re
quam nosti, decreveris, ut al-
ter alterum intelligamus, ne
quid ob id *secus* fiat.

Ego

autres ont este conjointes ensemble. Voila may foy, & veux
mourir en icelle.

Excusez moy que j'escry mal, il faudra que vous en devi-
niez la moytié: mais je ne puis remedier à cela, car je ne
suis pas à mon aise; & neantmoins j'ay une grande joye en
vous escrivant pendant que les autres dorment, puis que de ma
part je ne puis dormir comme eux, ny ainsi que je voudroye,
c'est à dire, entre les bras de mon tres cher amy, du quel,
je prie Dieu, qu'il vueille destourner tout mal, & luy donner
bon succes: je m'en vay pour trouver mon repos jusques au
lendemain, afin que je finisse icy ma *bible*; mais je suis fa-
chée que ce repos m'empesche de vous escrire de mon fait,
par ce qu'il *dure tant*. Faites moy sçavoir ce que vous avez
deliberé de faire touchant ce que sçavez, afin que nous nous
entendions l'un l'autre, & que rien ne se fasse *autrement*.

Je

I am *irkit*, and ganging to sleip, and zit I cease not to scribe all this paper in sa meikle as restis thair of. Waryit mot this pockische man be that causes me haif sa meikle pane; for without him I suld have an far plesander subject to discourse upon. He is not over meikle deformit, zit he hes ressavit verray meikle. He hes al-maist slane me with his breath; it is worse than zour *uncle's*; and zit I cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane chyre at the bed feit, and he being at the uther end thair of.

The message of the father in the gait.

The purpois of Schir James Hamilton.

Of that the *laird* of Lusse schawit me of the delay.

Of the demandis that he askit at Joachim.

Of my estait.

Of

Ego *nudata* sum, ac dormitum eo, nec tamen me continere possum, quo minus quod restat chartæ deformiter conscriberem. Male sit isti variolato, qui me tot laboribus exercet; nam absque eo esset ut materiam multo elegantiorē ad differendum haberem. Non magnopere deformatus est, multum tamen accepit. Pene me suo encavit anhelitu; est enim gravior quam tui *propinqui*; & tamen non accedo propius ad eum, sed in cathedra sedeo ad pedes ejus, cum ipse in remotissima lecti parte sit.

Nuncius patris in itinere.

Sermo D. Jacobi Hamiltonii.

De eo quod Lussæ *comarchus* mihi retulit de dilatione.

De quibus interrogavit Joachimum.

De ordinatione familiæ.

De

Je suis *toute nûe*, & m'en vay coucher; & neantmoins je ne me puis tenir, que je ne barbouille encor bien mal ce qui me reste de papier. Maudit soit ce tavelé, qui me donne tant de travaux; car sans lui j'avoye matiere plus belle pour discourir. Il n'a pas esté beaucoup rendu diforme, toutesfois il en a pris beaucoup. Il m'a quasi tuée de son halene, car elle est plus forte que celle de vostre *parent*; & neanmoins je n'approche pas pres de luy; mais je m'assieds en une chaire à ses pieds, luy estant en la partie du liét plus esloignée.

Du messager du pere sur le chemin.

Du dire du Sieur Jacques Hambleton.

De ce que le *prevost* de Lusse m'a rapporté touchant le retardement.

De ce qu'il s'est enquis à Joachim.

Du reglement de la famille.

C c 2

De

Of my company.

Of the occasion of my cumming.

And of Joseph.

Item, The purpois that he and I had togidder.

Of the desyre that he hes to pleis me, and of his repentance.

Of the interpretatioun of his letter.

Of Willie Hiegait's matter; of his departing.

Of Monfiure de Levingstoun.

I had almaiſt forzet, that Monfiure de Levingstoun ſaid in the Lady Reres eir at ſupper, that he wald drink to ye folk yat I wiſt of, gif I wald pledge thame. And eſter ſupper he ſaid to me, quhen I was lenand upon him warming me at the fyre, *Ze have fair going to ſee ſeik folk, zit ze cannot be ſa welcum to thame as ze left ſum body this day*

De meo comitatu.

De cauſa mei adventus.

De Joſepho.

Item, De ſermone inter me & illum.

De ejus voluntate placendi mihi, & de ejus pœnitentia.

De interpretatione ſuarum literarum,

De negotio Gulielmi Hiegait, & de ſuo diſceſſu.

De Domino de Leviſton.

Pene oblita eram, quod Dominus Leviſtonius D. Rereſiæ dixit in aurem, dum cœnaret, quod præbiberet eis quos noſſem, ea lege ut ego rebiberem eorum nomine. Ac poſt cœnam dixit mihi, dum ad ignem caleſiebam cum ei inniterer, Bella, inquit, hujusmodi hominum viſitatio; non tamen tanta e tuo acceſſu poteſt eis eſſe lætitia, quanta in moleſtia

De ma ſuite.

De la cauſe de mon arrivée.

De Joſeph.

Item, Du devis d'entre moy & luy.

De la volonté qu'il a de me complaire, & de ſa repentance.

De l'interpretation de ſes lettres.

Du fait de Guillaume Hiegait, & de ſon depart.

Du Sieur de Levingſton.

Peu ſ'en faut que je n'aye oublié, comme le Sieur de Levingſton a dit à l'oreille en ſouper a Madamoifelle Reres, qu'elle beut à ceux qu'elle cognoiſſoit, ſoubs condition que je le pleigeroye en leur mon. Et apres ſouper il me dit, comme je me chauſſoye aupres du feu, eſtant appuyée ſur ſon eſpaule, *Voyla une belle viſitation de telles gens; mais toutesfois la joye de noſtre venue ne leur peut eſtre ſi grande, combien eſt la facherie*

day in regrait, that will never be blyth quhill he se zow agane. I askit at him quha that was. With that he thrifit my body, and said, that sum of his folkis had sene zow in fascherie : ze may ges at the rest.

I wrocht this day quhill it was twa houris upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thair of, quhilk is couplit underneth with twa cordounis. I have had sa lytill time that it is evill maid ; but I sall mak ane fairer. In the meane tyme tak heid that nane that is heir se it, for all the world will knaw it, becaus for haist it was maid in yair presence.

I am now passand to my fascheous purpois. Ze gar me dissemble sa far, that I haif horring thairat ; and ye caus me do almaist the office of a traiores. Remember how gif
it

lestia quidam hodie relictus est, qui nunquam lætus erit, donec te iterum videbit. Ego de eo quæsiui quisnam is esset. Ille arctius corpus meum comprimens respondit, unus eorum qui te reliquerunt : tu quis sit divinare potes.

Ego hodie elaboravi usque ad horam secundam in hac armilla, ut clavem includerem, quæ subtus annexa est duobus funiculis ; male autem facta est ob temporis angustiam, sed faciam pulchriorem. Interim prospice, ne quisquam eorum qui hic sunt videat, quia omnes mortales eam agnoscent, tanta festinatione in omnium oculis facta est.

Nunc proficiscor ad institutum meum odiosum. Tu me adeo dissimulare cogis, ut etiam ipsa horream ; ac tantum non proditricis partes me agere cogis. Illud reminiscere,
quod

facherie à celuy qui a esté delaisié seul aujourd'huy, & qui ne sera jamais joyeux, jusques à ce qu'il vous ayt veüe. Derechef je luy demanday qui estoit cestuy là : luy m'embrassant plus estroitement me respondit, c'est l'un de ceux qui vous ont laissée. Vous pouvez deviner qui est cestuy-là.

J'ay aujourd'huy travaillé jusques à deux heures en ce brasselet, pour y enfermer la clef, qui est jointe au bas avec deux petites cordes. Il est mal fait, à cause du peu de temps qu'on a eu ; mais j'en feray un plus beau. Cependant advisez que personne de ceux qui sont icy ne le voye, car tout le monde le cognoist, tant il a esté fait à la haste devant les yeux de chacun.

Maintenant je vien à ma deliberation odieuse. Vous me contraignez de tellement dissimuler, que j'en ay horreur, veu que vous me forcez de ne jouer pas seulement le personnage d'une trahistresse. Qu'il vous souviene, que si l'affection de

it wer not to obey zow, I had rather be deid or I did it; my hart bleidis at it.—Summa, he will not cum with me, except upon condition that I will promise to him, that I fall be at bed and buird with him as of befoir, and that I fall leif him *na oster*: And doing this upon my word, he will do all thingis that I pleis, and cum with me. But he has prayit me to remane upon him quhil uther morne.

He spake verray bravely at ye beginning, as yis beirer will schaw zow, upon the purpois of the Inglismen, and of his departing: Bot in ye end he returnit agane to his humilitie.

He schawit, amangis uther purposis, yat he knew weill aneuch that my brother had schawn me yat thing, quhilk he had spokin in Striviling; of the quhilk de denyis ye
ane

quod nisi tibi obsequendi desiderium me cogeret, mallet mori, quam hæc committere; cor enim mihi ad hæc sanguinem fundit. Breviter, negat se mecum venturum, nisi ea lege, ut ei pollicear me communi cum eo mensa & thoro usuram velut antea, ac *ne sæpius* eum derelinquam. Hoc si faciam, quicquid velim faciet, ac me comitabitur; sed me rogavit, ut se expectarem in diem perendinum.

Valde ferociter ab initio loquebatur, uti qui has fert tibi narrabit, de colloquio cum Anglis, de suo discessu; sed tandem reversus est ad suam humanitatem.

Inter alia consilia quæ mihi retulit, se satis scire, quod meus frater ad me detulisset, quæ ipse cum eo egisset Sterlini; quarum rerum dimidium negavit, ac maxime illud, quod

vous plaire ne me forçoit, j'aymeroye mieux mourir que de commettre ces choses; car le cœur me seigne en icelles. Bref, il ne veut venir avec moy si non sous ceste condition, que je luy promette d'user en commun d'une seule table, & d'une mesme liêt, comme auparavant, & que je ne l'abandonne *si souvent*: Et que si je fay ainsi, il fera tout ce que je voudray, & me suivra. Mais il m'a prié, que je l'attendisse encor deux jours.

Au commencement il parloit fort asprement, comme vous recitera celuy qui porte les presentes, du devis eu avec les Anglois, & de son depart; mais enfin il revint à sa douceur.

Entre autres secrets qu'il me recita, il dit, qu'il sçavoit bien, que mon frere m'avoit rapporté ce qu'il avoit fait avec luy à Stirling, des quelles choses il a nié la moytié, & principale-
ment,

ane half, and abone all, yat ever he came in his chalmer. For to mak him traist me, it behovit me to fenzé in sum thingis with him : Thairfoir, quhen he requestit me to promeis unto him, that quhen he was hail, we suld have baith ane bed, I said to him fenzeingly, and making me to beleve his promisis, that gif he changeit not purpois betwix yis and that tyme, I wald be content thairwith; bot in the meane tyme I had him tak heid that he leit na body wit thairof, becaus, to speik amangis ourselfis, the Lordis culd not be offendit, nor will evill thairfoir : Bot thay wald feir in respect of the *boisting* he maid of thame, that gif ever we agreeit togidder, he suld mak thame knaw the lytill compt thay tuke of him; and that he counsallit me not to purchas sum of thame by him. Thay
for

quod fratris mei cubiculum esset ingressus. Ut ego facilius fidem apud eum assequer, necesse mihi erat quædam fingendo ei obsecundare. Quamobrem cum rogaret ut ei pollicerer, cum primum revaluisset, communem nobis fore lectum, ego dissimulante dixi, ac fingens me bellis ejus pollicitationibus fidem habere, me consentire, nisi ille interea propositum mutaret; sed interea videret ne quisquam id rescisceret, propterea quod procures nostris colloquiis offendi non possent, nec ideo male velle: sed in timore futuros quod *comitatus* fuisset si aliquando inter nos concordesset, se daturum operam ut intelligerent quam parvi eum æstimassent; item, quod mihi consulisset ne gratiam quorundam seorsum a se expeterem. Has ob causas eos in magna suspitione futuros, si ego faciem

ment, qu'il fust entré en la chambre de mon frere. Et afin qu'il me creust plustost, j'estoye contrainte de luy accorder quelque chose en dissimulant: par quoy, lors qu'il me priaist que je luy promisse, qu'incontinent qu'il seroit guery, nous ne faisons plus qu'un liêt, je luy dy par dissimulation, en faingnant, que je croye à ses belles promesses, que je l'y accorderoye, pourveu qu'il ne changeast d'avis; mais cependant qu'il regardast que personne n'en sceust rien, parce que les seigneurs ne pourroient estre offensez de nos propos, ny consequemment nous en vouloir mal. Ains seroient en crainte de ce qu'il m'auroit *sui-vy*. Et si nous pouvions estre d'accord ensemble, qu'il pourroit donner ordre, qu'ils entendroient combien peu ils l'avoient estimé. Item, de ce qu'il m'avoit conseillé, que je ne recherchasse la bonne grace d'aucuns sans lay. Et pour ces raisons qu'ils seroient

for this cause wald be in jelo-
fy gif at anis, without thair
knowledge, I suld break the
play set up in the contrair in
thair presence.

He said, *verray joyfully*,
And think zow thay will
esteme zow the mair of that?
Bot I am verray glaid that
ze speik to me of the Lordis;
for I beleve at this tyme ze
desyre that we suld leif to-
gidder in quyetnes: For gif
it wer uthervyse, greiter in-
convenience might come to us
baith than we ar war of:
bot now I will quhatever
ze will do, and will lufe *all*
that ze lufe: and desiris zow
to mak thame lufe in lyke
maner; For, sen thay seik
not my lyfe, I lufe thame all
equallie. Upon yis point this
beirer will schaw zow mony
small thingis. Becaus I have
over mekle to wryte, and it
is lait, *I give traist unto him*
upon

faciem scenæ ad contrariam
huic fabulam instructæ, in
præsentia, eis insciis, turba-
rem.

Tum ille *vehementer lætus*
subjecit, Et tu putas ne quod
pluris illi te æstimabunt ob
hanc causam? Sed valde gau-
deo quod sermonem de proce-
ribus iniecisti; nunc quidem
credo te cupere, ut una con-
corditer vivamus: nam ni
ita esset, majora quam uter-
que timemus incommoda u-
trique possent evenire; sed
nunc, quod tu vis, volo, &
quod amabis amabo; & cu-
pio ut eorum similiter concili-
es amorem: Quia postquam
non petunt vitam meam, om-
nes amo ex æquo. Circa hoc
caput hic tabellarius multa mi-
nuta tibi declarabit: Quia ni-
mis multa supersunt scribenda,
& jam serum est, *huic adbibebis fidem juxta tuum verbum*.
Breviter,

en grand soupçon, si je troubloy ainsi maintenant la face
du theatre, qui avoit esté appresté pour jouer une autre
fable.

Alors estant *grandement joyeux*, il adjousta, Et pensez-vous
que pour cela ils vous en estiment d'avantage? Mais je suis
bien aise que vous avez fait mention des seigneurs; maintenant
je croye, que vous desirez que nous vivions ensemblement en
paix: car s'il estoit ainsi, beaucoup plus grandes fascheries
nous pourroient advenir à tous deux, que nous ne craignons;
mais à present je veux ce que vous voulez & aimeray *ce que*
vous aimerez; & desire que pareillement vous acqueriez leur
amitié: car puis qu'ils ne pourchassent à m'oster la vie, je les
aime tous esgalement. Touchant ce chef, le porteur vous re-
citera plusieurs particularitez: d'autant qu'il y a trop de cho-
ses qui restent à escrire, & qu'il est desja tard, *vous adjouste-
rez*

upon your word. Summa, he will ga upon my word to all places.

Alace ! I never dissavit ony body : But I remit me altogether to your will. Send me advertisement quhat I fall do, and quhatsoever thing fall cum thair of, I fall obey you. Advise to with yourself, gif ze can find out ony mair secret invention by medicine ; for he suld tak medicine and the bath at Craigmillar. He may not cum furth of the hous this lang tyme.

Summa, be all that I can leirne, he is in greit suspicion, and zit notwithstanding, he gevis credit to my word ; bot zit not so far that he will schaw ony thing to me : bot nevertheless, *I fall draw it out of him, gif ze will that I avow all unto him.* Bot I will never rejoice to dissaive ony body that traistis in me : zit not-

Breviter, meo jussu quovis ibit.

Hei mihi ! nunquam quendam decepi ; sed ego me in universum tuæ voluntati subicio. Fac me certiore quid faciam, & quicumque sequatur eventus, tibi obsequar. Etiam tecum perpende, an comminisci queas aliquam occultiorum rationem per medicinam ; sumpturus est enim & medicinam & balneum ad Craigmillarium. Non potest domo egredi ad multos dies.

Breviter, quantum intelligere possum, in magna suspicionem versatur, nihilo tamen minus magnam habet fidem orationi meæ ; nec tamen usque adeo ut quicquam mihi effutiat ; *nihilo minus ego ex eo, siquidem tu vis, omnia apud eum profitear & agnoscam.* Sed nunquam gaudebo in quovis homine qui mihi fide-

dit,

rez foy selon vostre parole. En somme, il ira ou vous voudrez par mon commandement.

Helas ! je n'ay jamais trompé personne ; mais je me submetts en toutes choses à votre volonté. Faites moy sçavoir ce que je doy faire ; & quoy qu'il en puisse advenir, je vous obeiray. Et pensez en vous mesme, si pouvez trouver quelque moyen plus couvert que par breuvage ; car il doit prendre médecine, & être baigné à Craigmillar. Il ne peut sortir du logis d'icy à plusieurs jours.

Brief, à ce que j'en puis entendre, il est en grand soupçon ; neantmoins il adjouste beaucoup de foy à ma parole ; mais non encores tant, qu'il n'en descouvre quelque chose : toutesfois je confesseray, & reconnoistray tout devant luy, si vous le trouvez bon. Mais si ne m'esjouiray-je jamais à tromper celui qui se fie en moy : neantmoins vous me pouvez commander en toutes choses,

notwithstanding ze may command me in all thingis. Have na evill opinioun of me for that caus, be resson ze ar the occasion of it zoursel; becaus for my awin particular revenge, I wald not do it to him.

He gives me some chekis of yat quibik I fear, zea, evin in the quick. He sayis this far, yat his faultis wer publeist: bot yair is that committis faultis, that belevis they will never be spokin of; and zit they will speik of greit and small. As towart the Lady Reres, he said, I pray God that sche may serve zow for your honour: and said, it is thocht, and he belevis it to be trew, that I have not the power of myself into myself, and that becaus of the refuse I maid of his offeris. Summa, for certanetie he suspectis of the thing ze knaw, and of his lyfe. Bot as to the last, how
sone

dit, decipiendo: nihilo minus tu mihi potes omnibus in rebus imperare. Noli ideo sinistram opinionem de me concipere; quia tu ipse hujus rei mihi author es; nunquam enim istud in eum committerem, meæ propriæ ultionis causa.

Interim me attingit in loco suspecto; idque ad vivum. Hactenus proloquutus est sua crimina esse palam; sed sunt qui majora committant, & opinantur ea silentio tegi; & tamen homines de magnis juxta & parvis loquuntur. D. Reresia ait, Deum precor, ut officia quæ tibi præstat, sint tibi honori: ait etiam quosdam credere, ac se id verum existimare me non habere potestatem mei intra me, idque quia recusaverim condiciones a se oblatas. Breviter, certum est quod de eo quod scis, suspicetur, ac de vita etiam. Quod ad posterius, cum primum ego duobus aut tribus bonis verbis
eum

choses. Ne concevez donc point de moy aucun sinistre opinion, puis que vous mesmes estes cause de cela; car je ne le seroye jamais contre luy pour ma vengeance particuliere.

Cependant il m'a donné attainte du lieu suspect, & a jusques icy discoursu bien au vif, que ces fautes sont congneues: mais qu'il y en a qui en commettent de plus grandes, encores qu'ils estiment qu'elles soient cachées par silence; & toutesfois que les hommes parlent des grands aussi bien que des petits. Quant à Reres il dit, je prie Dieu que les services qu'elle vous fait vous soient à honneur. Il dit aussi, qu'il y en a qui croient, & que de sa part il l'estime veritable, que je n'ay point en moy la puissance de moi mesme, d'autant que j'ay refusé les conditions qu'il avoit offerites. Brief, il est certain qu'il se doute de ce que sçavez, & de sa vie mesmes. Quant au reste,
soudain

sone that I spak twa or thré gude wordis unto him, he rejoyfis, and is out of dout.

I saw him not this evening for to end zour bracelet, to the quhilk I can get na *lokkis*. It is reddy to thame: and zit I feir that it will bring sum malheur, and may sene gif ze chance to be hurt. Advetise me gif ze will have it, and gif ze will have mair silver, and quhen I fall retorne, and how far I may speik. He inragis when he heirs of Lethingtoun, or of zow, or of my brother. Of zour brother he speikis nathing. He speikis of the Erle of Argyle. I am in feir quhen I heir him speik; for he asfuris himself yat he hes not an evill opinioun of him. He speikis nathing of thame that is out, nouthir gude nor evill, but fleis that point. His father keipis his chalmer, I have not sene him.

All

eum compello, gaudet, ac timere desinit.

Non vidi eum hac vespera, quia tuam armillam conficiebam, cui nullam possum *ceram* invenire: id enim unum ad perfectionem ei deest; & adhuc vereor ne aliquod se offerat infortunium, & conspici possit, si to contingat lædi. Fac me certio rem num eam velis habere, & si plusculum pecuniæ velis habere, & quando debeam redire, & quem in loquendo modum mihi statui. Insanit ad mentionem de Lethingtonio, de te, de fratre meo. De tuo fratre nihil loquitur. De Comite Argatheliæ in timore versor, quoties eum audio loquentem; pro certo habet eum nihil de se male opinari. De eis qui extra sunt nihil, neque boni neque mali, loquitur, sed semper hunc locum vitat. Pater ejus domi se continet, nondum enim vidi.

Omnes

soudain que je luy propose deux au trois bonnes paroles, il se resjouit, & n'a point de crainte.

Je ne l'ay point veu ceste apres-desnée, parce que je faisoie vostre brassellet, auquel je ne puis accommoder *de la cire*: car c'est ce qui defaut à sa perfection: & encor je crain, qu'il n'y survienne quelque inconvenient, & qu'il soit recogneu, s'il advenoit que vous fussiez blessé. Faictes moy entendre si vous le voulez avoir, & si avez affaire de quelque peu plus d'argent; & quand je doy retourner, & quel ordre je tiendray à parler à luy. Il enrage quand je fay mention de Lethington, de vous, & de mon frere. Il ne parle point de vostre frere. Quant au Conte d'Argathley, je suis en crainte, toutes les fois qu'il en devise. Il s'assure qu'il ne pense point de mal de luy. Quant à ceux qui sont de dehors, il n'en parle ny en bien, ny en mal, seulement il a evité tousjours ce lieu. Son pere se tient tousjours au logis, & ne l'ay point encores veu.

Toutes

All the Hamiltounis ar heir, that accompanyis me verray honorabilly. All the friendis of the other convoyis me quhen I gang to sé him. He desyris me to cum and sé him ryse the morne betyme. For to mak schort, this beirer will tell zow the rest. And gif I leirne ony thing heir, I will mak zow memorial at evin. He will tell zow the occasioun of my remaining. Burne this letter, for it is ovir dangerous, and nathing weil said in it; for I am thinkand upon nothing bot fascherie. Gif ye be in Edinburgh at the ressait of it, send me word sone.

Be not offendit, for I gif not ovir greit credite. Now seing to obey zow, my dear lufe, I spair nouthir honour, conscience, hasarde, nor greitnes quhatsumevir; tak it, I pray zou, in gude part, and
not

Omnes Hamiltonii hic adfunt, & me comitantur valde honorifice. Alterius omnes amici me comitantur quoties eum viso. Petit a me ut cras tempore adsum, ut eum surgentem videam. Ut paucis absolvam, hic tabellarius reliqua tibi narrabit. Si quid novi hic discam, vespere faciam commentarium. Ille tibi explicabit meæ moræ causam. Crema has literas, sunt enim periculosæ, nec quicquam bene in eis dictum; ego enim nihil cogito nisi molestias. Si fueris Edinburgi cum has accipies, fac me certiore.

Noli offendi, quia non nimium fido. Nunc postquam ob studim tibi obsequendi, mi chare amice, neque honoris, neque conscientiæ, nec periculis, neque quantævis magnitudini parco; rogo in bonam
nam

Toutes les Hambletons sont icy, qui me font compagnie assez honorable. Tous les amis de l'autre me suivent lorsque je le visite. Il me prie que je soye demain assez à temps pour le voir lever. Afin que je le face court, ce porteur vous dira le surplus. Si j'appren icy quelque chose le soir, je le mettray en memoire. Il vous declarera la cause de mon retardement. Bruslez ces lettres, car elles sont dangereuses, & s'il n'y a rien qui soit bien couché; je ne pense que choses fascheuses. Si vous estes à Edinbourg, quand vous recevrez ces lettres, faictes le moy scavoir.

Ne vous offensez point, si je me fie par trop. Maintenant donc, mon cher amy, puis que pour vous complaire, je n'espargne, ny mon honneur, ny ma conscience, ny les dangers, ny mesmes ma grandeur quelle qu'elle puisse estre; je vous prie, que vous le preniez en la bonne part, & non selon l'interpretation

not after ye interpretatioun of zour fals gude-brother, to quhome, I pray zow, gif na credite, aganis the maist faithful luifer that ever ze had, or ever fall have.

Sé not hir, quhais fenzeit teiris suld not be sa mekle praisit nor estemit, as the trew and faithful travellis quhilk I sustene for to merite hir place. For obteneing of the quhilk aganis my natural, I betrayis thame that may impesche me. God forgive me, and God give zow, my only lufe, the hap and prosperitie, quhilk zour humble and faithful lufe desyris unto zow, quha hopis to be schortly ane uther thing to zow, for the reward of my irksom travellis.

It is lait; I desyre never to ceis fra wryting unto zow; zit now, after the kissing of zour handis, I will end my letter.

nam partem accipias, ac non juxta interpretationem fallacis fratris uxoris tuæ, cui rogo nullam adhibeas fidem adversus fidelissimam omnium quas aut habuisti, aut habebis, amicam.

Noli eam intueri, cujus fictæ lachrymæ non debent tanti esse, quanti fidi labores, quos ego perfero, ut merear in ejus locum succedere: quem ut obtineam, ego eos prodo, idque adversus ingenium meum, qui impedimento esse possent. Deus mihi det veniam, & Deus tibi det, mi unice amice, eum successum, & felicitatem, quam tua humilis & fidelis amica tibi optat, quæ brevi sperat aliud de te in præmium mei molesti laboris.

Serum est; tamen nunquam cupio cessare a scribendo ad te; tamen nunc post oscula manuum tuarum, finem

terpretation du faux frere de vostre femme, auquel je vous prie aussi n'ajouter aucune foy contre la plus fidele amye que vous avez eüe, ou que vous aurez jamais.

Ne regardez point à celle, de laquelle les feintes larmes ne vous doivent estre de si grand poix, que les fideles travaux que je souffre, afin que je puisse meriter de parvenir en son lieu. Pour lequel obtenir, je trahi, voire contre mon naturel, ceux qui m'y pourroient empescher. Dieu me le vueille pardonner, & vous doint, mon amy unique, tel succez & félicité, que vostre humble & fidele amye le souhaite, laquelle espere en brief autre recompense de vous, pur ce mien facheux labeur.

Il est tard; neantmoins je ne desire jamais cesser de vous escrire; et toutesfois, apres vous avoir baissé les mains, je feray fin à mes lettres. Excusez mon ignorance à escrire, & relifez

letter. Excuse my evill wry-
ting, and reid it twyse over.
Excuse that thing that is scri-
blit, for I had na paper zister-
day quhen I wrait that of ye
memoriall. Remember upon
zour lufe, and wryte unto hir,
and that verray oft. Lufe me
as I fall do zou.

Remember zou of the pur-
pois of the Lady Reres.

Of the Inglismen.

Of his mother.

Of the Erle of Argyle.

Of the Erle of Bothwell.

Of the ludgeing in Edin-
burgh.

nem meis literis imponam.
Excusa meam in pingendo im-
peritiam, easque relege. Ex-
cusa curtionem characterum,
quia heri chartam non habe-
bam, cum id quod in commen-
tario erat, scriberem. Remi-
niscere tuæ amicæ, ac sæpe ad
eam rescribe. Redama me,
uti ego te amabo.

Reminiscere sermonis de
Reresia.

De Anglis.

De matre ejus.

De Comite Argatheliæ.

De Comite Bothueliæ.

De hospitio Edinburgi.

lisez mes lettres. Excusez la briefueté des caracteres, car
hier je n'avoie point de papier, quand j'escrivi ce qui est au
memoire. Ayez souvenance de vostre amye, & luy rescrivez
souvent. Aimez moy, comme je vous aime : & Ayez memoire
du propos de Mademoiselle Reres.

Des Anglois.

De sa mere.

Du Conte d'Arghley.

Du Conte de Bothwel.

Du logis d'Edimbourg.

N U M B E R II.

Part of N. Hubert, or French Paris's Confession
concerning the above Letter.

INTERROGUE quant premierement il entra en credit avec la
Royne? Resp. Que ce fust comme la Royne fust a Kalendar,
allant a Glasgow, qu'allors elle lui bailla une bourse la, ou
il avoit envyron ou 3 ou 400 escus, pour la porter a Monsieur
le Boduel; lequel aprez avoir receu la dicte bourse sur le
chemin entre Kalendar et Glasgow, lui dict que le dict Paris
s'en alla avec la Royne, et qu'il se tint pres d'elle, et qu'il
regardast

regardast bien a ce qu'elle feroit lui disant *que la Royne luy donneroit des lettres pour les luy porter.* La Royne estant arrivée à Glaseow luy dict, je t'envoyra à Lislebourg, (*i. e.* Edinburgh) tient toy prest, & *ayant demeuré là deux jours avec lad. Dame,* laquelle escript des lettres, & à luy les bailla, dysant, Vous direz de bouche à Monf. de Boduel, qu'il baille ces lettres qui s'adressent à Monf. de Lethington à luy mesme, & qu'il parle à luy, & voyes les parler ensemble, & regardes la fasson de faire, & quelle miene ilz feront, car c'est ce, disoit elle, pour sçavoir, lequell est meilleur, pour loger le Roye à Craigmillar, ou à Kirk-a-field, afin d'avoyr bon air.—*Estant led Paris arryvé à Lislebourg, trouve led de Boduel en son logis à l'Abbay,* lequel lui dist, Ha Paris, tu es le bien venue. Monsieur, dict il, voici des lettres que la Royne vous envoie, & aussi à Monsieur de Liddington, vous priant de les luy delivrer, & que je vous vis parler ensemble pour veoir vostre fasson de faire, & comment vous accordiez ensemble. Fort bien, dit-il, car j'ay ce jourdhuy parlé à luy, & luy a donne une haquiene. *Le lendemain led. Paris dict,* qu'il vint au logis dud. Boduel par trois fois le chercher, à 8, 9 & 10 heures, & ne sçeut jamais trouver; & l'ayant cherché, il voit venir une troupe de gens de vers le Kirk-de-field, là ou estoit led Sieur Boduel, & Monsieur Jacques Balfour, costé à costé ensemble, lesquels s'en alloient dîner au logis dud. Monf. Jacques. Led. Paris pria Monf. de Boduel de le despecher vers la Royne. Apres dîner, dit-il, je le feray; & quant il retourna querir sa despeche *apres dîner,* il trouva le Sieur de Boduel & led. Mr. Jacques seuls teste à teste en une chambre, & led. Sieur de Boduel qui escrivit de sa propre main, & apres avoir faict, il dict à Paris, Voyla la respone; retourne t'en a la Royne, & me recommandes bien humblement à sa bonne grace, & lui dictiez, que tout ira bien, car Monf. Jacques Balfour & moy n'avons dormis toute la nuit, anis avons mis ordre en toute, & avons apresté le logis. Et dites à la Royne, que je luy envoie ce diamant que tu luy porteras, & que si j'avois mon cœur, je le luy enverrois tres volontiers, mais je ne l'ay pas moy. Va t'en à Monf. de Liddington, & luy demandes, s'il veult rescrie à la Royne; Ce que led. Paris faict, & le trouve à la chambre des comptes, & luy demande s'il plaisoit rendre la responce aux lettres de la Royne, que Monf. de Boduel lui avoit baillées. Oui, dit-il, & la dessus ill prend du papier incontinent, & escript, & quant faict, led. Paris lui dict, que la Royne l'avoit commandé de luy demander, lequel de deux logis feroit le meilleur pour le Roy, car elle ne bougera de là, jusques à ce qu'il auroyt rapporté sa responce.

sponse. Led. Liddington lui respondit, que le Kirk-de-field feroit bon, & led. Sieur de Boduel & lui avoient advisé ensemble là dessus. Ainsi led. Paris partit pour s'en aller à Glasgow vers la Royne, & estant de retour à Lislebourg, & avoir fait son message qui lui estoit donné desd. Seig. de bouche, la Royne lui demande, s'il avoiet veu parler Mess. de Boduell & Liddington ensemble.

N U M B E R III.

Part of the Journal or Diary of the most material Passages concerning Queen Mary, exhibited by Murray and his Associates.

The principal marked by Cecil's hand in the Cot. Lib. Cal. b. 9. fol. 247. Ander. vol. ii. p. 269.

January 21, **T**HE quene tuik hir journey towards Glascow, 1566-7. and was accompanyit with the erls of Huntly and Bothwel to the Kalendar, my lord Lévisstoun's place.

23. The quene came to Glascow, and on the rode met hir Thomas Crawford from the erle of Lennox, and sir James Hamilton, with the rest mentionit in hir letter. Erle Huntly and Bothwell returnit that same nycht to Edynbrough, and Bothwell lay in the town.

24. The queen remaynit at Glascow, lyck as she did the 25th and 26th, and hayd the conference with the king whereof she wrytis; and in this tyme wrayt hir BYLLE and uther letteris to Bothwell. And Bothwell this 24th day wes found verray tymus weseing the king's ludging that wes in preparing for him, *and the same nycht tuik journey towards Lyddisdaill.*

27. The queen (conforme to hir commission, as she wryttis) broucht the king from Glascow to the Kalendar towards Edynbrough.

Jan. 28. The Quene broucht the King to Linlythquow, and there remained all morn, quhill she gat word of my Lord Bothwell his returning towards Edynbrough, he Hob Ormiston and of the murtheraris. *The same day the Erle Bothwell came back from Lyddisdaill towards Edynbrough.*

29. She remained all day in Linlythquow with the King, and wraytt from thence to Bothwell.

30. The Quene broucht the King to Edynbrough, and patt him in his ludging quhair he endit; and Bothwell keiping tryist met hir upon the way.

N U M B E R IV.

Copy of an original Paper in the Archives of the
Family of Hamilton, intituled on the Back,
“ Proces of Divorce twixt Erle Bothwell and
“ his Wife, Feb. 21, 1565.”

[From the contents, however, it appears only to be a proof taken, to shew, that the Earl, and Lady Jane Gordon, his spouse, were within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the Canon Law.]

T H E twenty ane day of Februar, the zeir of God i M v C.
and sextye fyve zeirs, anent the supputatioun and verifi-
catioun of the degreis of consanguenitie, attening in dowbill
ferdis of consanguenitie: in the quhilkis dispensatioun, passit
betwixt an noble and mychty Lord James Hepburne, Erle Bod-
well, Lord Crichtown, Halis, and Liddisdail, grete Admirall
of the haill realm of Scotland, &c. and an nobill and mychty
Ladie Jane Gordoun, sifter germane to an nobill and mychty
Lord George Erle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun, &c. sic proces
was usit, as after followis.

The supputatioun & innumeratioun of the said degrees, &c.

George second, Erle of Huntlie, and first of that name,
beand the stoke.

Margaret Gordon, Countess of Bodwell, dochtir to the said
Erle of Huntlie. Erle Bodwell hir son ane.

Erle Bodwell his son that diet in Floudoun twa.

Patrick Erle Bodwell his son quha last decessit in Dumfries,
thré.

James, *now Erle Bodwell*, his son the ferd.

Alexander the third Erle of Huntlie, and secund of that
name, son to the said George Erle of Huntlie, and bruther to
the said Margaret Countess of Bodwell, ane.

Jhone Lord Gordoun her sone, twa.

George, the ferd Erle of Huntlie, and second of that name,
his sone, thrée.

And Jane Gordoun his dochtir, the ferd.

VOL. II.

D d

Item,

Item, Elifabeth Gordoun, Countess of Marheal, dochtir to the first George Lord and Erle of Huntlie, and sister to the said Margaret Countess of Bodwell, ane.

Robert Keith, maister of Merheal, her son, twa.

Elizabeth Keith, Countess of Huntlie, his dochtir, three.

And Jane Gordoun, hir dochtir, the ferd.

And swa one the fadderis syde attening in ferdis of consanguenetie.

And swa upone her moder syde attening in ferdis of consanguenetie.

Depositiones testium juratorum in præsentia

Magistri Alexandri Forrest rectoris de Logymontrois, prothonotarii secretariiue, et datarii Reverendissimi Domini et Domini Joannis Archiepiscopi Sancti Andreæ legati, &c. in innumeratione graduum retro: scriptorum, apud Edinburgh, in cubiculo Domini Commendatarii de Lundoris, vicesimo primo die mensis Februarii, anno 1565, talis fuit examinatio.

In primis, Jacobus Dunbar de Tarbat, testis juratus & examinatus, deponit, Innumerationem graduum esse veram, prout in retrospectiva scedula continetur.

Alexander Dunbar de Kilboyak, testis juratus et examinatus, deponit conformiter priori, qui novit omnes gradus, excepto stirpe.

Jacobus Keith de Schelis, testis juratus et examinatus, deponit conformiter præcedentibus testibus.

Monanus Hogg de Bleredryne, testis juratus et examinatus, deponit conformiter priori testi in omnibus.

Quas quidem depositiones testium prædictorum ego Magister Alexander Forrest rector de Logy Montrose, prothonotarius ac datarius prædicti Reverendissimi Domini Joannis Sancti Andreæ Archiepiscopi ac legati, mediis suis juramentis, corporaliter recepi, et in his scriptis redegei, testantibus, meis signo et subscriptione manualibus, ut moris est in similibus, anno, mense, die quibus supra, instante venerabili patre Johanne Domino Commendatario de Lundoris pro parte præfati nobilis Domini Comitis de Bodwell, et Alexandro Dunbar de Kilboyak pro parte prædictæ Jeannæ Gordon, procuratoribus suis, literatorie constitutis.

A. Forrest prothonotarius ac datarius præfati Domini Reverendissimi Domini Legati

Attestor.

NUM-

N U M B E R V.

Copy of a Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Sir
Amias Pawlet.

Amias, my most faithful and careful servant,

G O D reward thee trebblefold in the double, for the most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, *my Amias*, how kindly, beside most dutifully, my grateful heart accepts and praiseth your spotless endeavours and faithful actions, your wise orders and safe regard performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travail and rejoyce your heart: in which I charge you carry this most instant thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgement, the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasure can countervail such a faith, and shall condemn me in that fault, that yet I never committed, if *I reward not* such desert; yea, let me lack when I most need it, if I acknowledge not such a merit, *non omnibus datum*. Let your wicked murtherers know, how with hearty sorrow her vile desert compels these orders, and bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealing towards the savor of her life, many a year to the intollerable peril of her own: and yet not content with so many forgivenesses, must fall again to so horrible surpassing a woman's thoughts, much less a princess, instead of excusing whereof, not yet being so plainly confess'd by the author of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess her so as better part be lost; *for which I pray with hands lifted up* to him that may both save and spill. With my loving adue and prayers for thy long life,

Your most assured and loving Sovereign, as

thereto by good desert induced,

E. REGINA.

To my loving Amias.

N U M B E R VI.

[In the Dissertation annexed to Dr. Robertson's history, there is a letter written by Queen Mary to the Countess of Lenox, in vindication of herself; and subjoined to it is an answer written by the Earl of Lenox to the Countess, expressing his belief of the Queen's guilt. From these letters a strong argument is inferred against Queen Mary. It is but justice to annex the following letter from the Queen, which serves to explain that matter.]

Extract of a Letter from Queen Mary to the
Archbishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador at
the Court of France, 2d of May 1578 *.

The O R I G I N A L.

MADAME (la Comtesse) de Lenox, ma belle mere, est decedée depuis un mois en ça; ayant laissée une sienne petite fille, dont la Reine d'Angleterre s'est retenue la garde. J'escris à ceux qui sont pres de mon fils, de faire instance en son nom de cette succession; non pour envie que j'aye qu'elle luy demeure, mais pour servir de declaration, que luy et moy ne devons estre reputez ni traitez en entrangers au royaume d'Angleterre, puis que nous sommes nais dans la meme isle. Cette bonne dame s'estoit, graces à Dieu, fort bien reconnue vers moi, depuis cinq ou six ans que nous avons eu intelligence ensemble: & m'a advouée par lettres escrites de sa main, que je garde, le tort qu'elle m'avoit fait en ses injustes poursuites, dressées, comme elle me la fait entendre, par son consentement, pour avoir été mal informé; mais principalement, par exprés commandement de ladite Reine d'Angleterre, & persuasion de ceux de son conseil, qui avoient toujours empesché nostre appointment; lorsque ayant connu mon innocence, elle vouloit desister de me poursuivre, jusqu'à refuser plainement d'advouer ce qu'ils feroient contre moi sous son nom.

* Mem. Sots Coll. Paris, tom. II. N^o 55.; Keith, Appendix, p. 145.

A T R A N-

A TRANSLATION.

THE Countess of Lenox, my mother-in-law, died about a month ago; and the Queen of England has taken into her care the Countess's grand-daughter*. I have written to those who are about my son to enter a claim in his name for this succession; not for any desire that I have that he should actually succeed unto it, but rather to testify, that neither he nor I ought to be reputed nor treated as foreigners in England, who are born within the same isle. This good lady was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years bygone, and has confessed to me, by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information; but principally, she said, through the express orders of the Queen of England, and the persuasion of her council; who also took much solicitude, that she and I might never come to good understanding together. But how soon she came to know of my innocence, she desisted from any further pursuit against me; nay, went so far as to refuse her consent to any thing they should act against me in her name.

* This is the Lady Arabella Stewart, only child to Charles Earl of Lenox, who died anno 1576.

N U M B E R VII.

Lettre de R. Marie Stuart a son Aumonier.

J'AY ete combattue ce jour, de ma religion, et de recevoir la consolation des Heretiques. Vous entendrez par Bourgoïn, et les autres, que pour le moins j'ay fidelement fait protestation de ma foy, en laquelle je veûx mourir. J'ay requis de vous avoir pour faire ma confession, et recevoir mon sacrement, ce qui m'a este cruellement refuse, aussi bien que le transporte de mon corps, et le pouvoir de tester librement, ou rien escrire que par

leur mains, et sou le bon plaisir de leur maitresse. A faüte de cela. Je confesse la griefüete de me peches en general, comme j'avois deliberé de faire a vous, en particulier, vous *priant au nom de Dieu, de prier et veiller cette nuit avec moi,* pour la fatisfaction de mes pesches, et m'envoyez votre abso-lution et pardon de toutes les offences, que je vous ay faictes. J'essayeray de vous voir en leur presence comme ils m'ont accordé du maitre d'hotel, et si m'est permis devant tous a genoux, je demanderay la benediction.

Adviser moi de plus propre prieres, *pour celle nuit et pour demain matin.* Car le temps e'st court, et je n'ay loisir d'escrire, mai je vous recommanderay comme le reste, et sur tout, vos benefices, vous seront asseurez, et je vous recom-menderay au Roy. Je n'ay plus de loisir. Advisez moy de tout ce que vous penserez pour mon salut par escrit.

Je vous enverray un dernier petit token. (Souvenir.)

Nota. Elle escrivoit son testament de sa propre main en deux feüilles de papier, sans s'arrester et sans lever la main dessus le papier, ou elle mist par estat toutes ses affaires sans rien oublier, et sans laisser aucun des siens auquel elle ne legast quelque chose *.

* Histoire d'Elisabeth, par M. Keralio, tom. v. p. 433.

N U M B E R VIII.

Derniere Lettre de la Reyne Marie a Elisa-beth †.

MADAME,

J E rends graces à Dieu de tout mon cœur, de ce qu'il luy plait de mettre fin, par vos arrests, au pelerinage ennuyeux de ma vie. Je ne demande point qu'elle me soit prolongée, n'ayant eu que trop de temps, pour experimenter mes amertumes. Je supplie seulement votre Majestié que puis je ne dois attendre aucune faveur de quelques ministres zelez, qui tiennent les premiers rangs dans l'estat d'Angle-terre ; je puisse tenir de vous seul, et non d'autre, le bien fait qui s'ensuyent.

† Jebb, vol. ii. p. 91.

Premierement

Premierement je vous demand, que comme il ne m'est pas possible, d'esperer un sepulture en Angleterre selon le solemnites Catholiques, practiqués par les anciens Roys, vos ancestres et le miens, et que dans l'Ecosse on a forcé et violenté le cendres de mes ayeuls, quand mes adversaires seront saoulez de mong sang innocent, mon corps soit porté par mes domestiques, en quelque terre saincte pour y estre enterré, et sur tout en France, ou les os de la Reyne ma tres honorée mere reposent; afin que ce pauvre corps, qui n'a jamais eu de repos tant quil a este joint a mon ame, le puisse finalement rencontrer lors qu'il en sera separé.

Secondement, je prie v. M. pour laprehension que j'ay de la tyrannie de ceux, au pouvoir du quel vous m'avez abandonnée, que je ne sois point suppliciée en quelque lieu caché, mais a la veue de mes domestiques, et autres personnes, qui puissent rendre tesmoignage de ma foy, et de mon obeyffance envers la vraye Eglise. Et defendre le restes de ma vie, et mes derniers soupirs, contre le faux bruits, que mes adversaires pourroient faire courir.

En troisieme lieu. Je requiers, que mes domestiques qui m'ont servir parmy tant d'ennuys, et avec tant de fidelite, se puissent retirer librement ou ils voudront, et jouir de petites commoditez que ma pauvreté leur a legueez dans mon testament.

Je vous conjure, Madame, par le sang de Jesus Christ, par notre parenté, par la memoire de Roy Henry septienne, notre pere commun, et par le titre de Reyne que je porte encore jusque a la mort, de ne me point refuser de demandes si raisonnables, et me l'assurer par un mot de votre main. Et la dessus je mouray, comme j'ay vescu,

Votre affectionne sœur et prisonniere,

MARIE Reyne.

N U M B E R IX.

Lettre de la Royne d'Ecosse à la Royne Elizabeth, contenant ses plaintes assez au long, 1582.

MADAME, sur ce qui est venu à ma cognoissance des dernieres conspirations executees en Escosse contre mon pauvre enfant, ayant toute occasion d'en craindre la consequence, à l'exemple de moy-mesme, il faut que j'employe si peu de vie & de force qui me reste, pour devant ma mort, vous descharger plainement mon cœur de mes justes & lamentables plaintes, desquelles je desire que cette lettre vous serve tant que vous vivrez apres moy d'un perpetuel tesmoignage & graveure en vostre conscience, tant à ma descharge pour la posterité, qu'à la honte & confusion de tous ceux qui sous vostre adveu, m'ont si cruellement & indignement traictee jusques icy, & menee a l'extremité où je suis. Mais dautant que leurs desseins, prattiques, actions & procedures, pour detestables qu'elles puissent avoir esté, ont tousiours prevalu en vostre endroit contre mes tres-justes remonstrances & sincerès deportemens, & que la force, que vous avez en main, vous a tousiours donné la raison entre les hommes, j'auray recours à Dieu vivant, nostre seul juge, qui nous a egalelement & immediatement sous luy establies au gouvernement de son peuple, je l'invoqueray à l'extremité de ceste mienne tres-urgente affliction, pour retribuer à vous & à moy (comme il fera à son dernier jugement) la part de nos merites & de merites l'une envers l'autre. Et souvenez vous, Madame, qu'à luy nous ne sçaurions rien desguiser par les fars & polices du monde, ores que mes ennemis, sous vous, puissent un temps couvrir aux hommes, paravanture à vous, leurs subtiles inventions. En son nom & comme devant luy seant entre vous & moy, je vous ramentevray que par les agents, espies, & messagers secrets, envoyez sous vostre nom en Escosse, durant que j'y estois, mes subjets ont esté corrompus, & suscitez à se rebeller contre moy, à attenter contre ma personne, & en un mot à dire, faire, entreprendre & executer ce que durant mes troubles, est advenu audit pays: dont je ne veux à present specifier
autre

autre verification que celle que j'en tiray par ja confession d'un qui depuis a esté des plus avancez de ce bon service; & des tesmoins à luy confrontez.

Auquel si j'eusse deslors faict justice, il n'eust depuis par ses anciennes intelligences renouvelié les mesmes pratiques contre mon fils, & n'eust moyenné à tous mes traistres & rebelles subjets, refugiez vers vous, l'ayde & support qu'ils en ont eu, mesmes depuis ma detention par deça, sans lequel support je pense que lesdits traistres n'eussent deslors prevalu, ne depuis si longuement subsisté, comme ils ont faict. Durant ma prison de Lochlevin feu Trogmarton me conseilla de vostre part de signer ceste demission qu'il m'advertissoit me devoir estre presentee, m'assurant qu'elle ne pouvoit estre valable. Et depuis il n'y a eu lieu en la Chrestienté où elle ait esté tenue pour telle, ne maintenüe que par deça, jusques à avoir assisté par force ouverte les auteurs d'icelle. En vostre conscience, Madame, voudriez vous recognoistre pareille liberté & pouvoir en vos sujets? Ce neantmoins mon autorité a esté par les miens transmise à mon fils, lors qu'il n'estoit capable de l'exercer. Et depuis que je l'ay voulu legitimement assurer en icelle, estant en aage de s'en aider pour son bien propre, elle luy est soudainement ravie, & attribuee à deux ou trois traistres, qui luy en ayant desia osté l'effect, luy en osteront comme à moy & le nom & le tiltre, s'il leur contredit en façon que ce soit, & paravanture la vie, si Dieu ne pourvoit à sa preservation. Sortie que je fus de Lochlevin presse à donner bataille à mes rebelles, je vous renvoyay par un Gentil-homme expres une bague de diamant, qu'autrefois j'avois recüe de vous en Token, & avec assurance d'estre par vous secourüe contre mes rebelles, & mesme que me retirant vers vous, vous viendriez jusque sur la frontiere m'assister, ce que par divers messagers m'avoit esté confirmé. Ceste promesse venant & reïteree de vostre bouche (ores que par vos ministres je me fusse trouvee souvent abusee) me fit prendre telle fiance en l'effect d'icelle, que la route de mon camp survenue, je vins droit pour me jeter entre vos bras, si j'en eusse peu approcher. Mais deliberant de vous aller trouver, me voila à my-chemin arestee, environnee de gardes, renfermee dans des places fortes, & en fin reduite, toute honte passée, en la captivité où je meurs aujourd'huy apres mille morts que j'y ay ja souffertes. Je sçay que vous m'alleguerez ce qui s'est passé entre le feu Duc Nortfolk & moy. Je maintiens qu'il n'y avoit rien à vostre prejudice, ne contre le bien public de ce royaume, & que le traité fut approuvé par l'advis & signatures

natures des premiers qui estoient lors de vostre conseil, avec assurance de le vous faire trouver bon. Comment tels personages eussent ils entrepris de vous faire consentir à ce qu'on vous ostast la vie, l'honneur, & la couronne, comme vous vous en demonstrez persuadee à tous Ambassadeurs & autres qui vous parlent de moy ? Cependant mes rebelles s'apercevant que leur courie precipitee les emportoit plus outre qu'ils n'avoient pourpensé, & la verité estant apparüe des impostures qu'on semoit de moy par la conference, à laquelle je me soubmis en pleine assemblee de vos deputez & des miens, avec les autres de party contraire, en ce pays, pour m'en esclaircir publiquement. Voila les principaux pour estre venus à resipiscence par vos forces assiegez au chasteau d'Edinbourg, & un des premiers d'entr'eux empoisonné, & l'autre tres-cruellement pendu, apres que par deux fois je leur eus fait mettre les armes bas à vostre requeste, en esperance d'accord, où Dieu sçait si mes ennemis tendoient. J'ay voulu par un long-temps experimenter, si la patience pourroit amender la rigueur & mauvais traitement, qu'on commença specialement depuis dix ans à me faire souffrir, & m'accommodant exactement à l'ordre qui m'estoit prescrit pour ma captivité en ceste maison, tant pour le regard du nombre & qualité des serviteurs que je retins, licentiant les autres, que pour ma diette & exercice ordinaire pour ma santé, j'ay vescu jusques à present aussi quietement & paisiblement qu'un beaucoup moindre que moy, & plus obligé, que pour tel traictement je ne vous estois, eust peu faire, jusqu'à me priver, pour vous oster tout ombre de soupçon & deffiance, de requerir à auoir aucune intelligence de mon fils & mon pays, ce que par nul droit ne raison ne me pouvoit estre denié, & principalement de mon enfant, lequel au lieu de ce on travailloit par toute voye de persuader contre moy, afin de nous affoiblir par nostre division. Il me fut permis, direz vous, il y a trois ans de l'envoyer visiter. Sa captivité lors à Sterlin sous la tyrannie de Morton en fut cause, comme sa liberté l'a depuis esté d'un refus pour pareille visite : toute ceste annee passée, je suis par plusieurs fois entree en diverses ouvertures pour l'establissement d'une bonne amitié entre nous & seure intelligence d'entre ces deux royaumes à l'advenir.

A Chatisvorts il y a environ dix ans que commissaires me furent envoyez à cet effect. Il en a esté traité avec vous mesme par les ambassadeurs de France & les miens. Moy-mesme j'en fis l'hyver dernier toutes les avantageuses ouvertures
à Reale

à Reale qu'il estoit possible. Que m'en est-il revenu ? Ma bonne intention mesprisee, la sincerité de mes deportemens negligee & calomniee, l'estat de mes affaires traversé par delaiz, remises, & tels autres artifices. Et pour conclusion, pire & plus indigne traictement de jour à autre, quelque chose que je me sois efforcee de faire pour deservir le contraire, ma trop longue, inutile, & dommageable patience m'ayant amené à ce point, que mes ennemis par leur accoustumance de me mal-faire pensent aujourd'huy avoir droict de prescription de me traiter, non comme prisonniere, telle que par raison je ne puis estre, mais comme quelque esclave, dont la vie & la mort dependent de leur seule tyrannie. Je ne je puis, Madame, plus longuement souffrir, & faut qu'en mourant je descouvre les auteurs de ma mort, ou que vivant j'essaye sous vostre protection à faire mourir les cruautéz, calomnies, & traistres desseins de mesdits ennemis, pour m'establiir quelque peu plus de repos pour ce qui me reste à vivre. Pour vuider les occasions pretendues de tous differens entre nous, esclarcissez vous, s'il vous plaist, de tout ce qui vous a esté raporté de mes deportemens : faites revoir les depositions des estrangers pris en Irlande : que celle des Jesuites dernièrement executez vous soient representees : donnez libertez à ceux qui voudront entreprendre de me charger publiquement, & me permettez d'entrer en ma defence : s'il s'y trouve du mal, que je le souffre, ce sera patiemment, quand j'en sçauray l'occasion : si du bien, ne souffrez que j'en sois plus mal traittee avec vostre tres-grande charge devant Dieu & les hommes. Les plus vils criminels, qui sont en vos prisons, naiz sous vostre obeissance, sont receuz à leurs justifications, & leur sont tousiours declarez leurs accusateurs, & leurs accusations. Pourquoi doncques le mesme ordre n'aura il lieu envers moy Royne souveraine, vostre plus proche parente & legitime heritiere ? Je pense que ceste derniere qualité en a esté jusques icy la principale cause, à l'endroit de mes ennemis, & de toutes leurs calomnies, pour en nous tenant en division, faire glisser entre deux leurs injustes pretentions. Mais hélas ! ils ont maintenant peu de raison & moins de besoin de me tourmenter davantage pour ce regard. Car je vous proteste sur mon honneur, que je n'attens aujourd'huy royaume, que celui de mon Dieu, lequel je me voy preparer pour la meilleure fin de toutes mes afflictions & adversitez passees. Ce sera à vous de descharger vostre conscience envers mon enfant pour ce qui luy appartiendra apres ma mort en cét endroit, & cependant de ne laisser prevaloir à son prejudice les continuelles praticques & menees secretes
que

que nos ennemis en ce royaume font journellement pour l'avancement de leursdites pretentions, travaillant d'autre costé avec nos traistres subjets en Escosse, par tous les moyens qu'ils peuvent, pour haster sa ruine, dont je ne demande autre meilleure verification, que les charges donnees à vos derniers deputez envoyez en Escosse, & ce que lesdits deputez y ont seditieusement pratiqué, comme je croy, à vostre desceu, mais avec bonne & suffisante sollicitation du Comte mon bon voisin à York. Et à ce propos, Madame, par quel droict se peut maintenir, que mere de mon enfant, je sois totalement interdite, non seulement de le subvenir en la necessité si urgente où il est, mais aussi d'avoir aucune cognoissance de son estat ? Qui y peut apporter plus de soin, devoir & sincerité que moy ? A qui peut-il toucher davantage ? Pour le moins si envoyant vers luy pour pourvoir à sa preservation, ainsi que le Comte de Cherusbery m'a fait dernièrement entendre de vostre part, il vous eust plu recevoir en cela mon advis avec meilleure occasion, ce me semble, & plus d'obligation vers moy, vous y fussiez intervenüe. Mais considerez ce que vous avez laissé à penser quand oubliant si soudainement les offenses que vous pretendiez contre mon fils, lors que je vous requerois que nous envoyassions ensemble vers luy, vous avez depesché où il estoit prisonnier, non seulement sans m'en donner advis, mais me restrainant au mesme temps de toute liberté, afin que par voye quelconque, je n'en eusse aucunes nouvelles. Que si l'intention de ceux qui ont moyenné en vostre endroit ceste si prompte visite de mon fils, a esté pour sa preservation & le repos du pais, ils ne doivent estre si soigneux de me le celer, comme chose en quoy je n'eusse voulu concourir avec vous : ils vous ont par ce moyen fait perdre le gré que je vous en devois avoir, & pour vous en parler plus plainement, je vous prie de n'y employer plus de tels moyens, ny de telles personnes. Car encores que je tiens le Sieur de Kerri trop ressentant du lieu dont il est sorti pour engager son honneur en aucun vilain acte ; il a eu un assistant partisan juré du Comte de Hondinton, par les mauvais offices duquel une si mauvaise action n'a peu reussir qu'à pareil effect. Il me suffira donc seulement que vous ne permettiez que de ce pays mon fils reçoive aucun dommage : qui est tout ce que j'ay jamais requis de vous cy devant, mesme lors qu'une armee fut envoyee sur la frontiere pour empescher que la justice ne fust faite de ce detestable Morton, & que nul des vostres directement ou indirectement ne s'entremesse d'avantage des affaires d'Escosse, si ce n'est de mon sceu, à qui toute cognoissance en appartient, ou avec assistance de quelqu'un de la part du Roy

tres-

tres-Chrestien mon bon frere, lequel comme nostre principal allié je desire faire participant de tout en ceste cause, pour peu de credit qu'il puisse avoir avec les traistres, qui detiennent mon fils à present. Cependant je vous declare tout ouvertement, que je tiens ceste derniere conspiration & innovation pour une pure trahison contre la vie mon fils, le bien de ses affaires, & celuy du pays, & que tant qu'il sera en l'estat que j'entens qu'il est, je n'estimeray parole, escriture, ou autre acte qui vienne de luy, ou se passe sous son nom procedé de sa franche & libre disposition, mais seulement desdits conspirateurs, qui au prix de sa vie se servent de luy pour masque. Or, Madame, avec toute ceste liberté de parler, laquelle je prevoy vous pouvoir en quelque chose desplaire, ores que ce soit la verité mesme, vous trouverez, je m'assure, d'avantage estrange, que je vienne maintenant à vous importuner encore d'une requeste de beaucoup plus grande importance, & neantmoins tres aisee à vous de me l'octroyer & effectuer. C'est que n'ayant peu jusqu'icy, en m'accommodant patiemment si long temps au rigoureux traitement de ceste captivité, & me deportant sincerement en toutes choses, voire jusques aux moindres qui vous touchoient bien peu, m'acquérir quelque assurance de vostre bonne grace, ne vous en donner aucune de mon entiere affection vers vous, toute esperance m'estant par là ostee d'avoir mieux en si peu de temps qui me reste à vivre, je vous supplie en l'honneur de la douloureuse passion de nostre Sauveur & Redempteur Jesus Christ, je vous supplie encore un coup me permettre de me retirer hors de ce royaume en quelque lieu de repos, pour chercher quelque soulagement à mon pauvre corps, tant travaillé de continuelles douleurs, & avec liberté de ma conscience preparer mon ame à Dieu qui l'appelle journellement. Croyez, Madame, & les medecins que vous m'envoyastes cet esté dernier le peuvent avoir assez jugé, que je ne suis pour la faire longue, de sorte qu'il ne vous peut rester aucun fondement de jalousie ou deffiance de ma part. Et ce neantmoins prenez de moy telles assurances & conditions justes & raisonnables que vous les voudrez. La force plus grande reste tousiours de vostre costé pour me faire garder, ores que pour chose quelconque je ne les voulusse rompre. Vous avez assez eu d'experience de l'observation de mes simples promesses, & quelquefois à mon prejudice, comme je vous remonstray sur ce mesme sujet, il y a deux ans. Souvenez vous, s'il vous plaist, de ce que je vous escrivis lors, & que vous ne scauriez tant obliger mon cœur à vous, que par la douceur, ores que vous confiniez à perpetuité mon pauvre corps languissant entre quatre murailles, ceux de mon rang & naturel

naturel n'estant pour se laisser gagner, ou forcer par aucune riguer. Vostre prison sans aucun droit & juste fondement a desia destruit mon corps, duquel vous aurez bientost la fin, s'il y continue gueres d'avantage, & n'auront mes ennemis beaucoup de temps pour assouvir leurs cruautéz sur moy, il ne me reste que l'ame, laquelle toute vostre puissance ne peut captiver. Donnez luy donques lieu de respirer un peu plus librement son salut, que seul elle cherche aujourd'huy, plus que nulle grandeur de ce monde. Il me semble que ce ne vous scauroit estre grande satisfaction, honneur, & avantage, que mes ennemis foulent ma vie aux pieds, jusques à m'avoir estouffé devant vous, au lieu que si en ceste extremité, quoy que bien tard, vous me relevez d'entre leurs mains, vous m'obligerez grandement à vous, & tous ceux qui m'appartiennent, spécialement mon pauvre enfant, duquel par là vous vous pourrez paraventure asseurer. Je ne cesseray de vous importuner de ceste requeste, jusqu'à ce qu'elle me soit accordée. Et pource, je vous prie me faire entendre vostre intention, ayant pour vous complaire attendu jusqu'à present depuis deux ans pour en renouveler l'instance, dont l'estat miserable de ma santé me presse plus que ne le pourriez penser. Cependant pourvoyez, s'il vous plaist, à l'amendement de mon traitement par deça, que je ne puis souffrir plus longuement, & ne me remettez à la discretion d'autre quelconque, que de vous-mesme, de qui seule (comme je vous escrivois dernièrement) je veux d'oresnavant tenir tout le bien & le mal que je recevray en vostre pays. Faites moy ceste faveur que j'aye vostre intention par escrit, ou l'Ambassadeur de France pour moy. Car de m'arrester à ce que le Comte de Scherufbery ou autres en diront ou escriront de vostre part, j'ay trop d'experience qu'il n'y peut avoir assurance pour moy : le moindre sujet qu'ils se fantasiront estant suffisant pour innover le tout du jour au lendemain. Outre ce, dernièrement que j'escrivis à ceux de vostre conseil, vous me feistes entendre que je ne me devois adresser à eux, mais à vous seule : Et ainsi d'estendre seulement leur credit & autorité à me mal faire, il ne seroit raisonnable, comme il est advenu en ceste dernière restriction, où contre vostre intention, j'ay esté plus indignement traitté. Cela me donne tout occasion de doubter, qu'aucuns de mes ennemis en vostre dit conseil n'ayent expres procuré que les autres dudit conseil ne feussent participans de mes justes complaints, ne voyans paravanture leurs compagnons adherer à leurs meschans attentats contre ma vie, ou que s'ils en avoient cognoissance, ils s'y opposeroient pour vostre honneur, & leur

& leur devoir envers vous. Deux choses en fin ay-je principalement à requérir, l'une que proche comme je suis de partir de ce monde, je puisse avoir pres de moy pour ma consolation quelque honorable homme d'Eglise, afin de me ramentevoir journallement le chemin que j'ay à parachever, & m'instruire à le parfaire selon ma religion, où je suis fermement resoluë de vivre & mourir. C'est un dernier devoir qu'au plus chetif & miserable qui vive ne se pourroit denier. C'est une liberté que vous donnez à tous les Ambassadeurs estrangers, comme aussi tous autres Roys Catholiques donnent aux vostres exercice de leur religion. Et moy-mesme je n'ay jamais forcé mes propres subjets à aucune chose contraire à leur religion, ores que j'eusse tout pouvoir & autorité sur eux, & que je feusse en ceste extremité privee de telle licence, vous ne le pouvez justement faire. Quel avantage vous reviendra-il quand vous me le denierez ? j'espere que Dieu m'excusera, si par vous de ceste façon oppressee je ne laisse de luy rendre le devoir qu'en cœur me sera permis. Mais vous donnerez tres-mauvais exemple aux autres princes de la Chrestienté d'user vers leurs subjets de la mesme rigueur que vous me tiendrez, Royne souveraine, & vostre plus proche parente, comme je suis & seray tant que je vivray, en despit de mes ennemis. Je ne vous veux importuner maintenant de l'augmentation de ma maison, dont pour le temps que je voy me rester à vivre au monde, je n'auray pas tant de besoin. Je vous demande doncques seulement deux femmes de chambre, pour me subvenir durant ma maladie, vous attestant devant Dieu qu'elles me sont tres-necessaires, quand je serois une pauvre creature d'entre le simple peuple. Accordez les moy en l'honneur de Dieu, & monstrez en cela que mes ennemis n'ont tant de credit envers vous contre moy, que d'exercer leur vengeance & cruauté en chose de si peu de consequence, & dependant d'un simple office d'humanité.

Je viendray maintenant à ce dont le Comte de Scherussbery m'a chargee (si un tel que luy me peut charger) c'est à sçavoir que contre ma promesse faite à Beale, & à vostre desceu, j'ay negotié avec mon fils, pour luy ceder mon tiltre de la couronne d'Escoffe, m'estant obligee de n'y proceder qu'avec vostre advis, par un de mes serviteurs, qui en leur commun voyage seroit dirigé par l'un des vostres. Ce sont, me semble, les mesmes termes dudit Comte. Je vous diray la dessus, Madame, que Beale n'a jamais eu aucune simple & absolue promesse de moy ; mais bien des ouvertures conditionnelles, ausquelles je ne pouvois en façon que ce soit rester liee, sans

qu'au prealable les conditions, que j'y avois apposees, fussent executees; ausquelles tant s'en faut qu'il ait esté satisfait, qu'au contraire je n'en ay jamais eu aucune responce, ny de sa part ouy faire mention depuis. Et pour ce respect, il me souvient tres-bien que le Comte de Scherubery vers Pasques dernieres, voulant tirer de moy nouvelle confirmation de ce que j'avois dit audit Beale, je luy repliquay tout pleinement, que c'estoit seulement au cas que lesdites conditions me fussent accordées, & consequemment effectuées. L'un & l'autre sont encores vivants pour le vous tesmoigner, s'ils en veulent dire la verité. Depuis voyant que aucune responce ne m'estoit faite: mais au contraire que par delays & remises mes ennemis continuoient plus licentieusement que jamais leurs pratiques, basties dés le sejour dudit Beale pres de moy, pour traverser mes justes intentions en Escosse, ainsi que les effects l'ont bien tesmoigné, & que par ce moyen la porte demouroit ouverte à la ruine de mon fils & la mienne, je pris vostre silence pour refus, & me deschargeay par lettres expresses, tant à vous qu'à vostre conseil, de tout ce que j'avois traité avec ledit Beale. Je vous feis bien participante de ce que le Roy Monsieur, & la Roynne Madame, m'avoient escrit de leurs mains propres sur cet affaire, & en requis vostre avis, qui est encores à venir, avec lequel mon intention à la verité estoit de proceder, si vous me l'eussiez en temps departi, & vous m'eussiez permis d'envoyer vers mon fils, m'assitant és ouvertures que je vous avois proposees, pour establir entre ces deux royaumes une bonne amitié & parfaite intelligence à l'advenir. Mais de m'obliger nuëment à suivre vostre avis, devant que sçavoir quel il pourroit estre, & de soumettre pour le voyage de nos gens le mien à la direction du vostre, mesmement en mon pais propre, je ne fus jamais si simple que de le penser. Maintenant je remets en vostre consideration, si vous avez sçeu le faulx jeu que mes ennemis par deça m'ont joué en Escosse, pour amener les choses au point qu'elles sont, lequel de nous y a le plus sincerement procedé. Dieu soit juge entre eux & moy, & destourne de ceste isle la juste punition de leurs demerites: renvoyez encor un coup les advertissemens que mes traistres subjects de l'Escosse vous peuvent avoir donnez, vous trouverez, & je le maintiendray devant tous les Princes Chrestiens, qu'il ne s'y est passé de ma part chose quelconque à vostre prejudice, ne contre le bien & repos de ce royaume, lequel je n'affecte moins que conseiller, ou sujet que vous ayez, y ayant plus d'interest qu'aucun deux. Il se parloit de gratifier

tifier mon fils du tiltre & nom de Roy, & d'asseurer tant luy audit tiltre, que les rebelles de toute impunité de leurs offences du passé, & de remettre toutes choses en un repos & tranquillité pour l'advenir, sans aucune innovation de chose quelconque. Estoit-ce oster la couronne à mon fils ? Mes ennemis, comme je croy, ne voudroient pas qu'elle luy fust asseuree, & pour ce sont tres-contens qu'il la detienne par l'illegitime violence d'aucuns traistres ennemis de toute ancienneté de toute nostre race. Estoit-ce la chercher justice des offences passées desdits traistres, que ma clemence a tousiours surpassez ? Mais mauvaise conscience ne peut jamais s'asseurer, portant continuellement sa crainte en son plus grand trouble avec elle-mesme. Estoit-ce vouloir alterer le repos du pays, que de le procurer par une douce abolition de toutes choses passées, & generale reconciliation entre tous nos subjets ? C'est ce que nos ennemis par deça craignent autant qu'ils font demonstration de la desirer. Quel prejudice en cela vous estoit-il fait ? Marquez doncques, & faites verifier, s'il vous plaist, en quelle autre chose : J'en respondray sur mon honneur. He ! voulez-vous, Madame, vous laisser tant aveugler aux artifices de mes ennemis, que pour establir apres vous, & paraventure contre vous mesmes, leurs injustes pretentions à ceste Couronne, vous les souffriez, vous vivante, & les voyez ruiner, & faire si cruellement perir ceux qui vous touchent de si pres, & de cœur & de sang ? Quel bien & honneur pouvez-vous esperer de souffrir qu'ils nous tiennent mon fils & moy si longuement separez, & luy & moy d'avec vous ? Reprenez les anciennes arrhes de vostre bon naturel, obligez les vostres à vous-mesme, donnez moy ce contentement avant que mourir, que voyant toutes choses bien remises entre nous, mon ame delivree de ce corps ne soit contrainte d'espandre ses gémissements devant Dieu, pour le tort que vous aurez souffert nous estre faict icy bas : mais plustost qu'estant bien unie avec vous, elle quitte ceste captivité, pour s'acheminer vers luy, que je prie vous bien inspirer sur mes tres-justes & plusque raisonnables plaintes & doleances. A Sheffeld ce 28. Novembre mil cinq cens octante deux.

Vostre tres desolee plus proche parente

& affectionnee cousine

MARIE R.

NUMBER X.

TRANSLATION of Queen MARY'S
ELEGY on the Death of her Husband,
King FRANCIS II. By Mr. PYE, Member
of Parliament for Berks.

See the original, vol. i. page 256.

I.

IN melting strains that sweetly flow,
Tun'd to the plaintive notes of woe,
My eyes survey, with anguish fraught,
A loss beyond the reach of thought,
While pass away life's fairest years
In heaving sighs and mournful tears.

II.

Did cruel destiny e'er shed
Such horror on a wretched head?
Did e'er once-happy woman know
So sad a scene of heart-felt woe?
For ah! behold on yonder bier
All that my heart and eyes held dear!

III.

'Alas! even in my blooming hours,
'Mid opening youth's resplendent flowers,
I'm doom'd each cruel pang to share,
Th' extremest sorrows of despair,
Nor other joy nor bliss can prove
Than grief, and disappointed love.

IV.

The sweet delights of happier days
New anguish in my bosom raise;

Of

Of shining day the purest light
To me is drear and gloomy night;
Nor is there aught so good and fair
As now to claim my slightest care.

V.

In my full heart and streaming eyes,
Pourtrayed by woe, an image lies,
Which sable robes but faintly speak,
Or the pale languor of my cheek,
Pale as the violet's faded leaf,
The tint of love's despairing grief.

VI.

Perplex'd by this unwonted pain,
No place my steps can long detain;
Yet change of scene no comfort gives,
Where sorrow's form for ever lives;
My worst, my happiest, state of mind
In solitude alone I find.

VII.

If chance my listless footsteps leads
Thro' shady groves, or flowery meads,
Whether at dawn of rising day,
Or silent evening's setting ray,
Each grief that absence can impart
Incessant rends my tortured heart.

VIII.

If to the Heavens, in rapt'rous trance,
I hap'ly throw a wistful glance,
His visionary form I see,
Pictur'd in orient clouds to me;
Sudden it flies, and he appears
Drown'd in a wat'ry * tomb of tears.

* See note, vol. i. p. 257.

IX.

Awhile, if balmy slumbers spread
 Their downy pinions o'er my head,
 I touch his hand in shadowy dreams;
 His voice to soothe my fancy seems.
 When wak'd by toil, or lull'd by rest,
 His image ever fills my breast.

X.

No other object meets my sight,
 Howe'er in robes of beauty dight,
 Which to my sad despairing heart
 One transient wish will e'er impart,
 Exempt from that unalter'd woe,
 Which this sad breast must ever know.

XI.

But cease my song,—cease to complain,
 And close the sadly plaintive strain,
 To which no artificial tears,
 But love unfeign'd, the burthen bears:
 Nor can my sorrows e'er decrease,
 For ah! his absence ne'er can cease.

N U M B E R XI.

LIST of the FRENCH Words used in the
 SCOTTISH Language.

<i>Scotch.</i>		<i>French.</i>
G ^{REEN}	<i>The wild cherry</i>	Guigne
Orloge	<i>A clock</i>	Orloge
Gigot	<i>A leg of mutton</i>	Gigot
Latheron	<i>A dirty slut</i>	Laideron
Spuil bone	} <i>Shoulder-blade</i>	E'paule
Spaule		Spalder

<i>Scotch.</i>		<i>French.</i>
Spalder	<i>To stretch the arms</i>	E'pauler
Dames	<i>The game of draughts</i>	Dames
Wallees	<i>Saddle-bags</i>	Valise
Corby	<i>A raven</i>	Corbeau
Crouels	<i>King's evil</i>	Ecroueles
Tache	<i>A stain</i>	Tâche
Canelle	<i>Cinnamon</i>	Canelle
Reefort	<i>A radish</i>	Raifort
Aspet	<i>A plate</i>	Assiette
Kiles	<i>Nine-pins</i>	Quilles
Chamber o'dice		Chambre à dais
Bennison	<i>Blessing</i>	Bennison
Malison	<i>A curse, from</i>	Maleir, <i>Cotgrave</i>
Amry	<i>A cupboard in the wall</i>	Armoire
Douffe	<i>Meek, mild</i>	Doux
Dour	<i>Hard, stubborn</i>	Dur
To fash	<i>To trouble</i>	Fâcher
Fasheous	<i>Troublesome</i>	Facheux
To maltreat	<i>To use ill</i>	Maltraiter
To marguilly	<i>Tear to pieces</i>	Margouiller
Marokin	<i>Morocco leather</i>	Maroquin
To brifs	<i>To crush</i>	Briser
To dival	<i>To slope, or run down</i>	Devaler
Lippie	<i>Quarter of a peck</i>	Lippée
Fawsoned, fair fawsoned }	<i>Smooth in address</i>	Façonné
A chanler	<i>A candlestick</i>	Chandelier
A howtowdie	<i>A cockerel</i>	Estoudeau
To galash	<i>Cover a shoe</i>	Galoche
Grosert	<i>A gooseberry</i>	Groseille
Calcul	<i>A computation</i>	Calcul
To prig	<i>To cheapen, wrangle about</i>	Briguer
Hallon-shaker	<i>A ragged fellow, from</i>	Haillons
Broulzie	<i>A quarrel, confusion</i>	Brouillis
To croup	<i>Or crouch down</i>	Croupir
Napery	<i>Table-linen</i>	Nappe
Woodefeu	<i>A firebrand, incendiary</i>	Boutefeu
A plack	<i>A small coin</i>	Plaque
Ree	<i>Drunk</i>	Gris
To fleech	<i>Fawn on, cajole</i>	Flechir
The burden	<i>Drone of a bag-pipe</i>	Bourdon
A choppin	<i>A quart</i>	Chopine
A pawnie	<i>A peacock or turkeycock</i>	Paon

<i>Scotch.</i>		<i>French.</i>
To tape	<i>To keep in reserve</i>	Tapir
A jupe	<i>A petticoat</i>	Jupe
Eel-d'oly	<i>Oil of olives</i>	Huile d'olives
Somber	<i>Gloomy</i>	Sombre
Veste	<i>A waistcoat</i>	Veste
Remeed	<i>Remedy</i>	Remede
Vivers	<i>Viſuals</i>	Vivres
To crevy	<i>To burſt</i>	Crever
Canaille	<i>The mob</i>	Canaille
Leet	<i>A ſelect liſt</i>	Elite
A rouſer	<i>A watering-pot</i>	Arroſoir
Taſs	<i>A cup</i>	Taſſe
Gantrefs	<i>A ſtilling</i>	Chantier
Lettrin	<i>A deſk</i>	Lutrin
Bouet	<i>A lantern</i>	Boete à chandelle
Sucker	<i>Sugar</i>	Sucre
Spirling	<i>A ſmelt</i>	Eſperlan
Nourrice	<i>A nurse</i>	Nourice
Stank	<i>A pool</i>	Etang
Bacheleer	<i>A bachelor</i>	Bachelier
Fizen	<i>{ The eſſence or ſtrength }</i>	Foiſon
Disjune	<i>{ of a thing }</i>	Dejeuner.
	<i>A breakfast</i>	

THE END.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

- Page 27. line 19. *After wondered, add, that.*
44.— 3. *for it, read they.*
62.— 6. *for eminent, read elegant.*
81.— 5. *after asked, dele him.*
86.— 2. *for moist, read most.*
95.— 6. *for redigé, read rédige.*
239.— 20. *for merely, read nearly.*
255.— 23. *for Elogy, read Elegy.*
274.— 2. *after discovered, read that.*
361.— 3. *for this, read his.*

VOL. II.

- 5.— 5. *dele into.*
56.— ult. *after Keith, add p. 350.*
251.— 9. *for prosecutor, read persecutor.*
259.— 4. *for obliged, read forced.*
260.— 7. *for to, read on.*
326.— 20. *after Queen, a full point.*

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